619

Shluh MW11

[Since the term "tribe" is defined in the literature of this file as a grouping of several districts with territorial unity but without overt political institutions, category 635 has been used for some of the earlier political data in this file pertinent to the "tribe." The researcher is therefore advised to consult this category (635) for additional data.]

Berque

MW11 Shluh MW11

619

[Since the Shluh interpret the term taqbilt as both district and tribe, additional information on the tribal composition each of these territorial areas may also be found in Category 634.]

[For additional information on the so-called Shluh "tribe", made up from three to twelve districts, with political leadership under a tribal council "chief", see also category 635.]

000 /1/

First Part

First Approach to the Country and the People

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/3/

I. The Country

A Name

101 The existence of Seksawa, or Iseksawan, is attested to for at
least eight centuries in the same valley of the Haut-Atlas /High
Atlas/. By this name, now, are recognized among themselves,
and distinguished from others, some dozen little communities
101 grouped in the same fluvial basin. These syllables evoke a multi-
619 tude of traits of character, of tradition, of institutions: hence a
personality. But no genealogical synthesis at all to account for
it. Although the Seksawa legend is not unaware of the theme of
the hero, or even of the eponymous ancestor, no explanation of
this kind is alleged for the ensemble. The diversity of ancestry,
a proclaimed heterogeneity are inseparable from the profession of
Seksawa.

101 Hence the name does not imply here any rule of kinship. It is reduced to a simple verbal notation with a content that is

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131

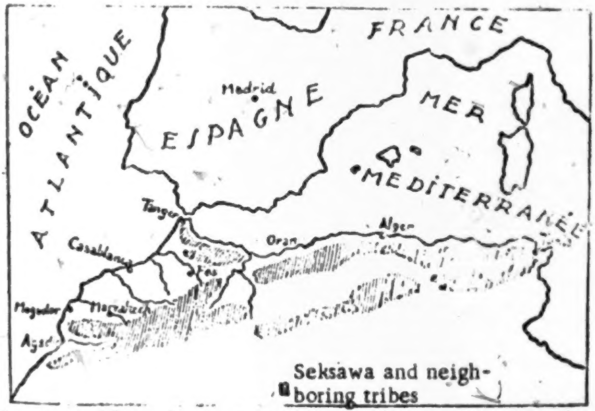
FRANCE
OCÉAN ATLANTIQUE
Madrid
ESPAGNE
MER MEDITERRANÉE
Tanger
Casablanca
Oran
Alger
Fes
Mogador
Marrakech
Agadir
Seksawa and neighboring tribes

Fig. 1. -- The Seksawa in relation to the Mediterranean basin.

/3 cont./

101 limited and at the same time /4/ fleeting. Signifying but not signified /Fr.: signifiant sans signifié/, we should say, if we dare resort to a convenient terminology. But these syllables, on the other hand, convey exact topographical correspondences. The perimeter of the lands that they cover has remained nearly fixed since the twelfth century, date of the oldest written testimony; and undoubtedly that is not the beginning. In the disorders of this [175] history in full motion, a history of nomads, of transfers of races and of ethnic conquerors, here in a corner of the Atlas is a people who very likely have not budged, whose existence in the same place is attested to for nearly a thousand years. And that is not peculiar to it. The same thing or nearly so could be said of its [361] Maçmûda cousins. We certainly knew that we were in a society of sedentary peoples, that it was even a matter of the oldest sedentary peoples of the Maghreb. But where the matter becomes complicated is that, if the name itself has remained immutable and localized, this immutability was only formal.

619 144 101 Just as certainly as the Seksawa have preserved themselves here, as such, since the Almohade epic, which found them and left them in the same place, today 90 % perhaps, or even more, are nothing more than allogeneous. This is not a matter of those imperceptible transformations, inherent in the life of a people, and which mean that there are no pure races, in the biological sense of the term. It is a matter of replacements, catalogued in popular memory and which, over the four centuries embraced by local traditions, assert themselves as the most unimpeachable fact, and almost as a basic datum of this personality.

121 619 174 101 It is a great debate to seek out, for a given peopling, what has been the determining factor, of the group or of the territory (1).

1. A. Moret and G. Davy, Des clans aux empires /From Clans to Empires/, 1923, pp. 64 sq.

One Berberist has put forth the hypothesis that appellations such as

/4 cont./

121 Seksawa, Urika, Gedmiwa, etc., have above all a topographic
619 content (2).
174
101

2. E. Laoust, "Contribution à une étude de la toponymie du Haut Atlas /Contribution to a study of the toponymy of the High Atlas/," R. E. I., 1939, III-IV, and 1940, I-II, offprint, p. 150. Foucauld, Reconnaissance au Maroc /Reconnaissance in Morocco/, 1888, pp. 90 sq., had already judiciously distinguished three kinds of groups: the tribe, the village, and the district. He made much use of this last idea, pp. 268 sq. M. Quedenfeldt, Division et répartition de la population berbère au Maroc /Division and distribution of the Berber population in Morocco/, H. Simon tr., p. 131, notes that between H'âh'a and Ntifa "live tribes that bear all the same names as their principal establishments."

A large part of the sedentary peoples of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ happen to fit the case. These populations are the only ones of the Maghreb, perhaps, whose permanence of settlement can be affirmed over as extended a lapse of time, hence the only ones who offer some guarantee for this kind of supposition.

121 101 /5/ Posed in this way, the problem is insoluble. In order to clarify it, it is necessary to resort to units far more modest than these names of peoples, the only ones known from the chronicle. It is necessary to resort, on the topographical plane, to the name for the ground; on the human plane, to that of the agnatic group. These are two leading realities there. They will not cease to guide us in all this research. And already, any first analysis of a term like that of Seksawa makes felt the combination that it effects between a geographic value and and a historic value.

101 The name can deliver more. Today it is perpetuated in its present form. This one seems to have prevailed since the Sâadians.

/41/

IV. Cantonal Personalities

133
Descent from the Tichka: the End of the World

In the Amizmiz mountains there is an "end of the world," Imi n-ddunit. Although the name is not found here, the foreigner indeed feels that he is at the end of the world when he has arrived at the last level stretch of the last impasse, on the very flank of the Tichka. But what the end, the ultimate effort, is for the visitor who has come from the plain, explorer, conqueror, proselyte, will more precisely be a point of departure for us.

133 Thus, let us start to descend from the depths of the valley of
101 the "sons of Géryon," Idaw Geryun, from their bourg called Targa
634 Ufella, "the supreme séguia." Behind us, nothing but the Tizi
[619] Uzdim, whose escarpment, cut into the granite of the old massif,
leads you up in open sky to the quiet pastures of the Tichka. Six
[132] months of the year, from November to March, snow covers them.
And, from the tenth of March, a placing in defense imperiously
"knotted," agg^{w}mi iqqan, protects the grasslands until the I.
[221] Geryun "untie" it. Then there flow to them, besides the Seksawa
flocks, those of the surrounding tribes: Imedlaun, Idaw Mçat't'og,
[233] Tigguga, a. Tkisit, and even a. Ughbar. During this long interdiction,
the flocks of the high Seksawa have moved to the plain
among the Ud Bessebā^c Arabs. Besides the sheep, the richness of
[137] these valleys is the walnut tree, whose fragrant leaves, from the
month of May, make each ravine a corridor of green penumbra,
in sharp contrast with the surrounding reliefs, mighty, sad, destroyed
by sun or frosts.

In fact the country of the I. Geryun is locked in on all sides by mountains. The Tanddri, dominating the archaic bourg of Ikis and often called Ikis itself by our maps, soars up in a sharp cone, with almost geometrical straightness, to the escapes of the right bank. On the left, another cone, the Ras Mulay Âli, culminating point of this part of the chain, where its slender pyramid
[778] defies the usual heaviness. Its summit (3,310 meters) is a minuscule
[172] platform, completely surrounded by 80% slopes and entirely
occupied by the ruins of dry stone masonry, called

[Idaw Geryun]
[Ait H'adduyws]

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[127]

/42 cont./

The I. Geryun, with the valley of Uzaga, shelter one of the branches of the most authentic Seksawa lineage: the proper descendants of the kings mentioned by Ibn Khaldûn in the fourteenth century: the a. D'alh'a, whose family archives will furnish important information for this research.

/43/ Ait H'adduyws: "King's Sons"

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634
487
[721]

One goes up the Seksawa by way of a dizzy path on the right bank. After Tasselli, one skirts some cliffs of 200 to 300 meters. Then one descends again, to the confluent of Imi y-Ikis, at the height of which the séguia of the Idma breaks off from the riverbed. The taking of it has already been done by the a. H'adduyws: whence a permanent menace and indeed wars of former times. The path then goes up again. Once the crest has been reached, the Tizi n-Kennas, the panorama of the chain, forming the horizon to the S., lies open at one stroke. It is colossal. The least of these summits, Ras Mulay Ali, Aziwal, Temt'daden, exceed 3,000 meters. At the feet of the traveler, the village of Igersafen, "between two rivers," forms something like the center of a fertile crescent. In fact, two valleys converge there: that of the I. Geryun, descending from the Tichka, where one perceives the grandiose denticulation to the E.; that of the principal branch of the Seksawa, which plunges to the S. and with which our visitor is going to be concerned.

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[769]
[349]
[776]
[197]
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The somber landscape of schist becomes brighter. One is now in limestone tending toward pink and blue. The valley opens into esplanades larger than one will encounter in all the rest of the valley. In the center, a cupola, that of an eponymous saint, or rather that of the eponym's son, this H'addô u Yûsuf, from whom the *taqbilt* is supposed to have descended. Orthographic snobbery has in fact reacted on the pronunciation. This tends to impose an a. H'addô u Yûsuf which it readily distorts in paroxytone. Yûsuf would be the own son of Ibn Tachfin the Almoravide. Fine improbability. A prudent orthodoxy, but of late epoch, has camouflaged in antedating it by a century, by reference to the

/43 cont./

173 good Almoravides, the Almohade history of this part of the mountains.
Today the cult of this eponym is quite modest, and its
lineage quite dispersed. Its own genealogical documents refer to
a cycle which pushed aside the Seksawa in order to penetrate into
Idaw Mh'mud, and up to Mentagna. In this decline there is the
whole history of the Seksawa, or rather their fall from the great
history of the fourteenth century to the humble montagnard intrigue
of late epoch.

133 The cirque is vast. It starts at 1,600 meters altitude, at the
101 outlet of Igersafen toward the S. But the habitat climbs to the
634 1,950 meters of altitude of Wawnsawt, the highest agglomeration
of the Seksawa. Over this whole section the bed spreads into wide
ledges where cultivations draw up in echelons on both sides of a
street of walnut trees. This arrangement lasts up to the cul-de-sac
of Wawnsawt. From there, only a wall, but the detail of which is
seen now and which forms a caisson. A light spot indents it: the
[443] Tizi /44/ y-Imedlawen. Access indeed precarious: by way of it,
[778] however, intrepid marchers frequent the souq /sook/ of the Tigguga,
and even the a. Tamment, where the sanctuary of sidi
Âbdallah u Sâid is. The saint is separated from Wawnsawt, last
[484] village of the Seksawa, by a day's walk, hardly more than from
this village to Imintanout.

173 In the plain of the "king's sons," and despite its relative
166 abundance and its richness, the ancient race has barely existed.
619 Many new people have come, Idaw Semlal for the most part. But
immigration here has doubtlessly been progressive. Without violence,
at least that recollection records. The aggregate thus constituted
634 has itself become conquerors. The immense rectangular
619 house of the last independent amghar, Ah'med Umulid, exists at
[342] the bourg of Tasa. Lower, at Fensu, at the very root of the
Aziwal, reigns a montagnard rich-man, present-day chief; the
old violent and patriarchal life tacks toward prosperity with the
purchase of green nuts and the financing /Fr. commandite/ of
livestock breeding. The majesty of the place nourishes no more
634 than a capitalism with shrewd fructifications. It is combined,
173 however, with the spirit of the high valleys in a mixture of strong
619

[Ait H'adduyws]

/44 cont./
173 archeological tenor. The families issued from the great ancestor,
634 the a. D'alh'a, occupy several villages and, in the native
•619 view, contribute no little in adorning the country with a discreet,
secret, but real touch of authenticity. Vestiges of the past, they
remain the support of a legitimacy depending on the Seksawa,
[613] from which the other founders benefit little or much. A lineage
authentic and allogeneous, today all are sons of H'addô. Immaterial
factors, whose action on these montagnards should not
be minimized, have imposed their truce here: perhaps the force
attached to this saint, yet left out of the rites, almost forgotten,
but who is nonetheless "the great ancestor."

133 It is a completely different impression that is made on the
487 traveler who, leaving the valley, climbs the Tizi n-Tbgurt
(2,650 meters). To his right the Tizi n-Trga opens a difficult
175 but indispensable passage toward the Sous. It is this route that
166 was taken in the course of the last centuries by the invaders
167 coming from the Anti-Atlas to take the place of the old dying
populations. And it is from there that they spread toward the N.
From the flanks of the Tabgurt, several avenues in fact radiate
toward the plain; they have remained the habitat of the new men:
a. M'hnd, a. Lh'sen, Idma. Toward the N. and the N.-W. arch
133 the highlands separating the constitutive valleys of the asif n.-a.
101 Lh'sen. The eye follows their outlines up to the bar of the Bwibaun;
634 in the axis, at a distance, appears, by means of an opening,
the tabular relief of the Dwiran. To the N.-E. descend the
terraces of Agersili. From there, the landscape bifurcates, one
might say, into crossroads. /45/ It is in these divergent directions
that the history of the peoples coming from the Sous is spread
out. Thus one might wonder if the political axis which now coincides
with the valley has not changed through the ages.

"Cantons" Par Excellence

101 Here we are in the immured confines of the Seksawa world.
184 And even these people here are no longer Seksawa. They are
634 vassalized Demsira. Last remains of the encroachments made by
619 their people at an unknown time on all the lower Seksawa, up to

[Iguntar]

619
101 /45 cont./
184 the moment when new and brave men from the far Sous liberated
634 the old ground with the help of the saints.

A dizzy descent, from the wooded heights of the Wagrarat,
133 leads to a bed of wells. The torrent of the Iguntar passes here.
101 They have their two villages: Tagenza and Tannammert, "the
634 fronton and the adret," planted at mid-cliff. At Tagenza, ruins
361 of an agadir, "granary-citadel," the only one of the country with
619 that of Ikis. The Atlasic arête is welded to the last counterfort of the Bwibaun, this long Hercynian wall which closes the Seksawa world to the W. The Arjbib, the Zkkat' have from 2,400 to 2,890 meters. This is the impasse. The Idaw Meh'mud indeed live on the other side of the peak, but it is the other side of the world. Even if the ridge pastures are common, a radical opposition governs the life on the two sides. People turn their backs on each side of the wall.

173 The true relatives of the Iguntar are elsewhere, among the
remains of the Demsira. The old records of this tribe show them
101 regulating by their deliberations interests more or less mingled
634 with those of the Irohalen, thus largely running over toward the
619 Tizi Umachchô. Their legend mentions a founder hero and great
[538] ancestors who built the countries *bnan timizar*, an expression of
substantial exactitude. Their nine séguias and their five *ikhs*-s
[613] interlace rights and facilities in a system of distribution of water
[312] and land. There remain to us reports of proceedings concerning an allotment which was formerly carried out and followed by collective feasting.

634 The same archaic and secret life, the same Arcadian life,
with the ancestral wisdom, the same energetic submission to the
184 laws of the country and of the economy also strike you in another
619 *taqbilt* of the high mountains: the a. Mh'nd. Between Iguntar
[181] and a. Mh'nd, similarly with their backs to the high axial ridge, are crouched other cantons, formerly conquered or reconquered by the Seksawa over the Demsira: Wanz'id and Iwulla. But these are drawn downstream by their solidarity with their brothers of the branch conquering the a. Lh'sen.

[Ait Mh'nd]
[Idma]

133 /46/ The a. Mh'nd are isolated, like the Iguntar. They are
101 backed up to the enormous mass that we call the Tabgurt, but
634 which in reality corresponds to different appellations for the
619 native: Timezgida Wager Wadaden and Awrir u Ginnus, for the
two summits of the massif that our maps name "Tabgourt" and
[823] estimate at 3,200 meters of altitude. According to the local
interpretation, Tabgurt is high ground dominating the plain of the
H'adduyws on one hand, the a. Dris on the other. Tizi n-Trga
opens from this side. On the W. another col, the Tizi n-Tgurzatin. After which reigns the Awrir n-Zkkat'.

181 It is at the foot of these reliefs that the a. Mh'nd lead their
101 life of former conquerors fallen into a respectable comfort and
634 absorbed by their lands, their flocks, their walnut trees. Allied
with their Idma neighbors, they have abstained from expansions.
619 Besides, they were barred downstream by their suzerains of
Ad'erd'ur. The coincidence of the bourg habitat with the political
cell and the agrarian order is total here. Later we shall study in
[128] detail the portioning of their fields, irrigated by two sources, and
where a rotation of crops plays a role, implying imperious collective agreements.

[527] These agreements manifest themselves in feasts of color and
song, days of chorus, ah'wach, on the superb lawn that the glacial
foliage of giant walnut trees shades all summer. The plan of the
361 village, through a new encounter with the other orders of phe-
619 nomena where the deep social harmony of this group is expressed,
reveals a division still perceptible between ikhs-s. Important because of the population as well as because of the architecture,
composed of dense quarters of joined houses with tunneled streets,
it is striking because of an urban character. And this liaison between a richly-balanced agricultural life, a municipal liberty,
and a sort of city finality is not the least significant feature of the
life of the high cantons.

619
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Conquests By Force: the Idma Domain

101 This is a domain, not a country. It was constituted by arms,
175 starting from the sixteenth century. The small, puny, energetic,
181 and sly men who hold it came from the Anti-Atlas and have
[166]

619 [Idma]

181 /46 cont./
634 remained faithful, up to their last independent amghar-s, to a
101 tortuous and violent tradition. Their type has been safeguarded.
175 It is striking because of a strange dullness of skin, almost blue
[166] sometimes, and which indeed seems to reflect the imprisonment
[142] between these high and terrifying walls. "Profiteers and marauders," as the Pyrenean chronicler says of another such mountain people, expanding the meaning of plunder into broad political conceptions, the /47/ Idma have spread in the direction of Z'init', over a large section of the river and up to the bar of the Afuzar to the E.; over an affluent valley, that of Ammern to the W.; and over all the highlands between the two. In order to understand by what dynamics this meeting of grounds could be made, it is necessary to climb the counterforts of the Tabgurt. Let us place ourselves at an observation point situated at 2,300 meters, just under the little source streamlet called Talat n-a. Ilarzg.

One discovers before one, downwards, the ground of Agersili,
133 at the foot of an uneven ridge, which points to the Awrir Waluggu.
241 It is a vast ensemble of suspended valleys, on flanks prodigiously
101 cut by terraces. We are in May. The green of the barley not yet in ear -- for the year is late here, and snow has persisted for
634 several months on the tilled fields -- is arranged with the light ocher, carefully squared and rebordered like honeycomb, prepared for maize. Agersili, with the ground of the a. Mh'nd, is the only place of our mountain large enough for a regular rotation of barley, maize, and turnips to govern the agricultural life there.
[312] A séguia of about ten kilometers waters it. It comes from the high ledges of the Amerdul, common to the Idma and to the H'adduyws. Besides Agersili, this séguia runs between the grounds of Ad'erd'ur and of Wanchkrir. The first bourg, "the mute," rises
[361] in the steep valley of Ammern. The second, older, with a name now unintelligible, is not entirely Idma. The filtered water from Agersili falls there in cascades, into a ravine which ends by rejoining the main valley because of a capture. Two masses of highlands, the Tassila and Inraren Z'dinin, "the joined threshing-floors," tower over, at more than 2,000 meters, the two bourgs,

[Idma]

/47 cont./

133 for which they constitute the perimeter of dry cultivations. Same
101 characteristics: walls often steep, level summit. These high-
634 lands form a rejoinder to the tiny, uneven, vigorous sectors of
the bottom of the valley. This contrast is, as has been seen,
characteristic of the western Haut Atlas /High Atlas/.

133 If one passes beyond the ridge that dominates Agersili, the
Adrar Awselli, one falls vertically upon Usikis, the metropolis of
361 the Idma, the first that was founded by these conquerors from the
101 Sous. The site is rocky. Everything there is rough, unpleasant,
634 inhospitable. But what energy! A hundred tiers of cultivation
619 descend toward the river. Over a whole section they belong to
the Idma, from a little lower than Igersafen, first a. H'adduyws
village, to Tamzgurt, where the Wanchkrir ravine flows. The
Idma bourgs of Tasselli and Tannsmekht mark out this course.
Tasselli is built on a rocky crescent, according to the archaic
formula of valley habitat, called "l'éperon barré" /barred or
pronged buttress or spur/. Traffic /48/ from upstream to down-
stream is difficult. Abrupts of 300 meters border the bed, which
is at an altitude of 1,500 meters. That would be 100 meters of
fall from Igersafen. At Tannsmekht, it will be no higher than
[312] 1,400 meters. Séguias on both sides of the stream collect the
difference in level and spread the flow over the maximum area.
[241] But, in view of the drawing closer of the cliffs, the irrigated part
of the two villages gives only about fifty hectares all told. That
is little, on a section of some ten kilometers. Thus let us esti-
mate at an average width of 25 meters the land available on each
side of the river. This calculation, although it distorts reality,
since there are long sections completely encased and, on the con-
trary, some relatively wide ledges, as at Tannsmekht or at Jjgit,
gives an idea of the topographical limitations of this life.

On the right, affluent valleys rise up to the Hercynian bar of the Afuzar, which limits the Seksawa from the side of the upper Gedmiwa. The severity of these slopes, their yellowish bareness strike the eye. It is an absolutely desolate adret, undoubtedly because the high reliefs screen the W. winds from it. The peopling here is sparse: barely one village, Talmud'ât, and one zaouia, Assttif, which perhaps sought out a "desert."

[Idma]
[Ait Lh'sen]

619 /48 cont./
778 The domain of the Idma thus embraces the three most important
634 sanctuaries of the upper Seksawa: Ammern to the E., in
the extension of the Ad'erd'ur ravine, Assttif to the W., Lalla
[484] Aziza on the bisector. A five-hour walk separates the two extreme
sanctuaries. On the other hand, longitudinally, it is necessary
to figure four hours between Lalla Aziza and Igersafen.
Therefore this domain extends over a space that we could estimate
at the value of a whole day's walk in order to be probed in
619 all directions. That is a great deal for a little montagnard state.
175 The Idma are in fact conquerors. "We had only 700 armed
701 men," they say, "when the a. Gasa were double that number.
726 But we conquered them, with the help of Lalla Aziza." In modern
634 times, a regular line of chiefs, alternating among two or
three families, could combine the principle of assembly co-optation,
619 the great assemblies of Inraren z'dinin, with the impetus of
the individual. The chronicle of these alternations have remained
634 for us. Today masters of the territory of three zaouias,
181 having known how to insert themselves smoothly into the French
619 peace, obstinate, proud, miserly, the Idma continue their tenacious
aspiration to exist as a group and, in short, their taking in
charge the former destiny of the Seksawa.

619 /49/ The Domain of the Ait Lh'sen

174 Like the Idma, they are conquerors. They also seem to have
166 arrived from the Sous by way of the Tizi n Trga and, from there,
634 to have swerved toward the N. and the N.-W. up to encountering
the high bar of the Bwibaun, limit of the Seksawa toward the W.,
131 symmetrical with that of the Afuzar toward the E.
To the S., the length of the axial chain, they comprise two
133 cantons entirely similar to the Iguntar and to the a. Mh'nd, between
101 which they are intercalated. These are Iwulla and
634 Wanz'id', backed up to the wall which, from the 3,000 meters of
619 the Zkkat', separates the Seksawa from the I. u Mh'mud. One who
looks toward the N. from the flank of the Zkkat' distinguishes three
valleys still recent in form and which two bulges of earth separate:
the one ending at Amudder, the other constituting the mole of

[Ait Lh'sen]

619 /49 cont./
634 open land of the Ibuban. The former, political subjects of the
101 a. Lh'sen, have kept their agricultural originality: that of being
133 exclusively cultivators in the dry. A curious thing, dry cultivations
and livestock breeding rank some of these dispersed and
[241] these conquered peoples, remnants of heteroclite populations,
[233] among the richest of the Seksawa. That is a kind of contradiction
[184] to the perspective of irrigators, which is, of course, that of
conquerors. The economic center and the chefferie /military
district/ of the latter have been fixed in the middle valley of the
torrent, a junction once formed out of the various ravines descending
from Iguntar via Sekrat, from Wanz'id' and from Iwulla.

The valley of the asif n-a. Lh'sen crosses some frightful.
[184] steep cliffs of basalt before entering the canton of the Sekrat, a
heterogeneous population linked together by the conquest. Whether
it be at the base of the eagle's nest of Amsgerdat or in the vast
thicket that the other Sekrat villages punctuate on both sides of
the torrent, same impression: the bed is wide enough for cultivations
133 to take hold on its pebbly sloping banks. The blocks carried
along by the current or falling from the left bank, which is
241 abrupt, have been used in embankments for the protection of
101 olive trees, almond trees, plum trees, and peach trees. In this
634 variety of orchards, one recognizes a lively peasantry. At the
foot of the trees, tomatoes, sweet peppers, eggplants, and lately
potatoes alternate with the mowed prairies, az'mu, and the
classic lands sown with barley and maize. The torrent roars in a
deep groove, capriciously cut by itself in its large bed. A level
of permanent submersion, according to a technique known as
tanuri, and which is especially that of fodder, of edible flax, and
more rarely of barley, is dominated by the level of the cereal
platbands and of the orchard. An enormous mass of arable land
exhibits its block on the right bank, at /50/ Tigumma n-Skrat,
133 for example. By raising one's eyes, very high because all of this
137 world is formidably encased, one finds that the highest slopes
themselves, thanks to their bushes, such as the urzigh, the aloggo,
101 and their greater forest density, have saved their land from sliding
634 down. Lower, a profusion of blackberry brambles covers the low

[Ait Lh'sen]

/50 cont./
133 walls. The vines shoot up on the trunks of huge walnut trees and
137 plunge down from there in lianas mixed here and there with
101 honeysuckle and briars. The impression is that of a thicket with
634 abundant foliage.

Downstream from the Sekrat, the landscape, having become harsher, reminds one that on the right the dry slopes of Ibuban display their schists with lentiscus and opuntia, without generosity for man. But the impression becomes cheerful again when one again finds the a. Lh'sen "from below," and their center, the "rocky" Buteghradin.

This section, extending from Tuz'z'umt to Awines along
133 very hard quartzites, has only more painfully adapted itself upstream
101 to the Hercynian tectonics. Hard rocks, Appalachian
634 peaks, powerful erosion make a young and tortured landscape.
[134] Still, the soils there, in a general manner, are less decadent than
in the principal valley. Nothing looks like devastation there.
The country appears new in comparison with the Moyen Seksawa
/Middle Seksawa/ which other conquerors, the Idma, left covered
with the ruins of their predecessors and which the decadence of
the trees and the drifting of the arable land desolated. Here, a
[137] vigorous forest vegetation crowns the domes, a persistent architecture
[241] of terraces speaks of the collective solidarities. In the
end, a country of rich substance, with well-cultivated ledges.
Gardens here bear a variety of plants abandoned elsewhere. A
feeling of communal prosperity breaks through here.

173 The whole valley is marked with memories. Certain ones,
of evil omen, recall the slaughters of times past. Thus at
634 Ukhriben, between Tabratjut and Agadir. An old population, the
726 Ih'erdach, remained there. The a. Lh'sen destroyed it by surprise
619 on the same day that a saint was born: Sidi Âbderrah'man u
Messâud u Âli. His mother had to flee by way of a passage between
the opuntia that one still sees there. She took refuge on a
[764] summit facing Agawz, the very one where the mausoleum of the
saint exists, near the small fort of an unknown power: Agadir
[712] n-Lmkhzen. Which Makhzen /makhzan/?

[Ait Lh'sen]
[Imt'ddan]

/50 cont./

181 The inhabitant, of warlike and frank character, offers a richness
182 of custom, a legendary warmth, a pride in his traditions that
634 have not twisted into, as among the Idma, cunning and miserly
619 defenses. And this land provides us, together with the memory of
a long succession of heroic coups de main, the one, still very recent,
of a great political and bellicose figure, the "caïd" /51/ Lmokhtar, grandfather of the present chief. Divided by their Sekrat and Ibubanen vassals into two groups, one from above (Iwulla, Wanz'id'), the other from below (Awines, Buteghradin, etc.), the a. Lh'sen affirm, in their landed equilibrium, a unity that testifies, better than any legend, to a still-intact vitality. Military force, conservation of the ground, variety of crops are compounded with other traits, bravery, attachment to folklore, fine and pure physical type, in an engaging and deep-rooted synthesis.

On Both Sides of the Sanctuary

778 Having arrived at the Moyen /Middle/ Seksawa, here we are
361 as though inspired by the proximity of a holy place, Z'init'; and
619 of the national saint, Lalla Aziza. The country is ordered symmetrically
around a ritual and social center. Upstream, the Imt'ddan, avengers and ministers of the saint, who installed them in the place of an ousted population, the a. Gasa; downstream, the parvis, which constitutes, on the side of the plain, that is to say, on the side of aggression and profanation, the ground of the
[128] a. Musa. Let us study the upstream, then the downstream, before
touching on the sanctuary itself.

Cursed Lands: the Imt'ddan

133 Coming from the Haut /Upper/ Dwiran or from the Haut
101 Gedmiwa, the traveler passes over the col of Tamt'ddit at 2,200
634 meters. To his left, the forest of holm oaks. To his right, a
[137] massif culminating in the conical peak of the Tamjlocht (2,340
[233] meters) and the elevated plateaus of the Azur, studded with
[243] shelters of dry stone for the livestock and here and there, on a
well-sheltered epaulement terrace, crops of rye and barley. The

[Imt'ddan]

133 /51 cont./ The
101 trail, even on the col, passes between a threshing floor and a pile
634 of stones, tarrut', which each passer-by augments. That is a
"mansion," maqâm, of Sidi Ah'med u Musa, the great saint of
[487] the Tazerwalt. In fact, it was a small group from there that
[776] founded its tiny capital 500 meters lower, on the right flank of
the ravine. Then it spread to the river, appropriating the enormous
block of mountains that point to the Tamjlocht, above the
holy place of Z'init', and two valleys oriented N.E.-S.W.

These valleys, which to the E. flank the bar of the Afuzar
(2,315 meters), suffer from an intense desolation. They give vent
175 to the painful memories of the war led by the Imt'ddan and their
726 Idma allies against the former occupants, the a. Gasa, today
● 619 driven back behind the Afuzar. Although the conquest took place
during the eighteenth century, it seems that the old curse that
/52/ pursued the vanquished still weighs on the country. More
133 materially, it seems that this canton has not recovered from the
101 battles, which must have interrupted the work of retention of the
634 slopes, thus liberating the downward flow of the streams. That
[134] carried the arable soil toward the bottom and delivered these
lands to the merciless shock of the storms. Even now one is struck
by the decadence of the country. One of the valleys, the one that
climbs from Tagonit toward Rekto, contains sterile stretches,
[172] imlalen, and cliffs of an intense degradation. The ruins of Rekto,
formerly an important village of the a. Gasa and their last refuge
before the total eviction, adds to the melancholy of the site. The
other valley, called Tmlelt from Tagonit, keeps some poor almond
trees. But up to the cul-de-sac that terminates it, upstream
from Tamt'ddit, it offers the distressing spectacle of a torrent bed
used with nonchalant and seemingly discouraged techniques: portions
ruined by the carting of stones, modest basins or rather
"water holes," tafrawt, unstable channels: all a function of a
sudden flow, one feels, to be changed in a torrential descent. Between
[132] the two extremes of the storm, which carries everything
away, and the dryness, which destroys the seed, the ambition of
the husbandman amounts to a kind of groping. At Tagonit a
[172] half-collapsed tower, put in the middle of the bed, indicates the

[Ait Musa]

/53 cont./

619 The Parvis of the Temple: the Plain of Tabratjut

184 A clear geographical and social demarcation sets the a. Musa
101 Ufella, that is to say, "Those from above," over against "Those
634 from below," the occupants of the section of the valley immediately
lower, starting from the former market "of Thursday,"
361 Lkhmis. They live in a small flat-bottomed basin of four or five
101 square kilometers, full of ruins, fields, and cemeteries. Four
agglomerations follow one another from downstream upstream:
634 the village, in ruins, of a residual fraction of a. Ish'aq; then the
619 knoll of Tabratjut, overhung by the new château of the Chtittihi
family; then Tagadirt, in ruins, a reminder of the struggles between
a. Musa and a. Lh'sen at the time of the past generation.
Higher, but in a different landscape, where the Seksawa are encased
anew in the schistose cliffs, the hamlet of Tigemmi
y-iggiz, marvel of cohesion in the habitat. A whole squad of
[776] saints, as one will see, the most important of whom is Sidi
[778] Mh'and Ah'ormi, marks in a way on the side of the plain, that is
to say, on the side of the profane, of the officials, and of the
troublesome, the approach to the sanctuary and to the place of
asylum of Z'init'.

133 The basin is closed on all sides by heights of different geological
nature: yellowish marls and red rocks from the Imlilen
101 toward the N. on the right bank of the river; following them
634 toward the E. on the Dwiran side, the gloomy hill with two tops
called Awrir Wuzal, "of iron," where in fact a well attributed to
old and legendary Portuguese miners is to be seen. On all the
other sides, this is the black country. Toward the S. it points to
the Tamejlocht, bombe with bulky brows toward the W. and the
N.-W., with the Mzawt, wooded with holm oaks, and the
Illikkri. By the latter the circle is closed. Not without some
openings that allow passage to the Seksawa, to the torrent of the
a. Mh'nd, and, symmetrically to the latter, on the other side of
Tabratjut, to the Talat n-Tddert, which climbs in the direction
of the Haut Dwiran and whose role of hydraulic balance is important.

[Ait Musa]

619 /53 cont./
634 Like the Iguntar, the a. Gasa, and still others, victims /54/
181 of a curse, the a. Musa do not exceed, and cannot exceed, 60
[162] foyers. Their personality has been overcome by the proximity of
too strong a place in the same way as by the possession of the
small basin which displays in this relief its enviable esplanade.
634 Not being able to avoid access by the powers of the plain, they
175 were, on the other hand, not consistent enough to turn it to ad-
619 vantage by exactions, intrigue, or profitable intervention. This
unfruitful role has continued up to our day. The last of the chiefs,
[631] the "Caïd" Chtittihi, was traitorously killed in an ambush. La-
mentable history of this small taqbilt! It is pressed on all sides
by pitiless neighbors. Even the cadre of the leagues does not out-
live such precariousness. The a. Musa pass from one to the next,
become divided. Morally, it is the end for them. After having
wielded the gun for thirty-five years consecutively, the family of
the amghar emigrated and owes its salvation only to the place of
asylum. They survive then in the advantageous shadow of the
saint /feminine/. The amghar, hemmed in, but always the
[426] usurious lender, trades from her asqqif with his conquerors from
above. It is from there, by means of a rope and a basket, that
he has them pass the barley that they borrowed from him. In
[181] brief, a degraded taqbilt, disinherited vestibule of the temple and
of the hinterland.

133 If one follows the river downstream from the former Thursday
101 market, one soon sees it plunge between abrupt and schistose
walls in a succession of constrictions and of ever narrower basins.
634 At one moment even the horizon of the bed seems to be closed
completely by the majestic quartzites that dominate Talɛint.
This section of the river is fed by a resurgence attributed to a
blow of the cane of Sidi Mh'and u Abderrah'man. In fact, it has
more water than the basin of Tabratjut upstream, but earth is
133 lacking. The group has not had the energy to build a ground by
101 using to advantage the quite wide bed of shingle and the small
634 plains brought about by the meanders below T'abya and Igernssuq.
619 The remarkable thing here is the land division, in which, follow-
ing the eviction of the Demsira, it seems that former occupants

[Ait Musa]

/54 cont./

133 have participated, the people of three *taqbilt*-s: a. H'adduyws,
101 Idma, and even Dwiran. The Demsira remain represented by
634 the *ikhs* of the Ichiyyâan. It is the one that installed the people
of the zaouias farther downstream. As one follows the valley in
● 619 the direction of the a. Âbdella, the immovable-property situation becomes more and more evanescent. One is conscious of a whole past of evictions and tumults: for example, this division of the immense estates of a powerful man, Lh'âjj Bujmâ u Âbderrah'man, from Talâint, living around 1800, and who died leaving only daughters. In addition, the presence of Idma and especially of a. H'adduyws poses problems to which it will be necessary to return.

/55/ Descent to the Styx: Z'init'

133 The valley of the Seksawa, which, after the constriction of
101 Tigemmi y-Igg'z, will swerve toward the N.-W. across the small
634 plain of the a. Musa, now circulates from the S. to the N., at
[137] the bottom of a dizzy corridor. The left wall climbs from an advent at 2,000 meters in the black and brilliant schists that are crowned by the forest of holm oaks of the Mzawt. A lumpish ridge forms the horizon from the W. to the S. On the right the wall is vertical. A block of highlands points to the Tamejlocht (2,340 meters), which some clouds clinging to its peak adorn in a very romantic fashion. Upstream the river is likewise obstructed by rough reliefs. In their opening are discovered, as one climbs the slope, the highest summits of the chain: dome of the Tanddri (2,540 meters), pyramid of the Ras Mulay Âli (3,400 meters). The bottom of the valley is at 1,000 meters. A displacement of at least one km., in a vertical fall, surrounds it on
778 all sides in the form of a funnel. At the very bottom, Lalla
[792] Aziza, the great saint of the Seksawa.

Her sanctuary, with its green roof and plastered walls, forms a strange contrast with the houses of the zaouia, high, confused, blackish, but solid and put together well. It is guarded on all sides by the somber land of the Seksawa. The sky, to one who lifts his head, only appears circumscribed by the peaks. The

[Ait Abdella]

/55 cont./
778 impression is gloomy and powerful. The black reflection of the
schist, the lighting from on high temper the scene with a vibrant
grisaille. The dullness of the colors contradicts a kind of internal
brightness, the origin of which the painters can seek, but which
suggests to the imagination the force of the place. Here we are
in the very center of the Seksawa, at a focus of radiance and attraction.
Barbarous merrymaking comes annually to seal the
connivance of the group and the invisible powers. Collective
solidarity, seasonal rite, recourse to the beyond are tied together
under the sign of a heroine of precise historicity.

Several hectares of crops spread in the bed their scaly green
[241] dominated by the leaves of the last olive trees. In fact, the
limit of the tree is not far away: just upstream from this dark
buttress which bars the current, and on which are profiled the ruins
• [619] of a bourg. The a. Gasa, whom a malediction expelled from the
country, to the profit of the conquering Imt'ddan and Idma, formerly
[794] lived there. Today they are the servants of the saint.
Against all the vicissitudes, the latter has maintained her right of
asylum, the limits of which, clearly marked downstream and toward
the power of the plain, are much less so upstream and toward
the closeness of the mountains. Asylum still respected,
whose benefic protection spread over the geologist Brives, first
French visitor to the Seksawa.

/56/ The Conciergerie /Caretaker's Lodge/ of the Mountains: the Ait Âbdella

634
101 Is this perhaps an inglorious title for the northernmost canton
619 of the Seksawa? Its chiefs affect white linen clothing, regularity
at prayers, the Arabic language, or, if one wishes, the official
investiture, finally, abhorrence of what is regarded as of the
634 nature of montagnard, but this is a great deal. The contiguity to
175 the plain costs the canton dearly. It has not recovered from the
726 sacking inflicted on it toward the beginning of the century by a
619 troop of regulars called "of Ben Sennâh'." Requested by the allied
Mtuggi, disembarked at Mogador, received amicably at Bul^{c}wân,
it suddenly attacked the village. The effects of this terrible
lesson still remain.

[Ait Abdella]

/56 cont./

634 It is from this threshold that conquerors and explorers depart.
181 Brives among others, who needed the safe-conduct of an amghar
619 of Tuz'z'umt to be able to go up the valley. Everything
here is milder, duller. The constructions do not scorn the
pisé characteristic of the Haouz. In bourgeois fashion, one of
them even rears walls plastered and limed: a unique exception
in Seksawa. In any case it is in this canton that erosion has most
profoundly marked the mores. For a very long time, it seems,
its function has been the same one that we still discern for it: to
penetrate and control the upstream for the benefit of the downstream.
The alluvium of a history, which is not only that of the
free taqbilt-s, but is amplified to the extent of names such as the
one of the Merinides, is still distinguished here. From the confluent
of the asif n-a. Lh'sen up to Tagoyyamt, place of commercial
passage and of dynastic conflicts, it is a succession of
monumental ruins.

133 From the a. Wagenna ("sons of the sky") downstream, the
bed of the river spreads out. The bank, all in steep fallen rocks
634 on the right, goes up by degrees on the left. Braving the freshets,
(241) risky crops cling to even the gravel and sand of the bottom. A
very small epaulement on the left; and this is a floor of gardens:
the "out-orchard" Berra n-rryat' of Tuz'z'umt, the "background"
Luljt of Illutjan, the Talmerkht of Bul^{c}wân. All of it periodically
[312] ravaged. From this section of the bed radiate the great séguias
/water conduits/ of the plain: Tagharro, Taâzzuzt, Tassebâit,
Talh'archt. Two or three permanent springs gush up on the left
of the talus, which support a second or a third tier of crops.
These last planes are spacious and covered with trees in homogeneous
masses: olive trees below, almond trees above. The
slope of the river here is very gentle. Resurgences stagnate under
the populations of laurels and tillirin, in what the habitués recognize
as an "odor of paludism."

241 /57/ At Tuz'z'umt, the entresol of vegetation is spread out
just as magnificently as the illiberal perspective of the country
can have it: a veritable small plain covered with an old, but
[312] luxuriant olive grove with intercalated crops. A double water

/60 cont./
174 some/, to the very one against which they rebel. Veritable archeological excavations are necessary in order to recover something of the original structures under many layers of elaboration. The exploration is worth being attempted. Because it has available here something very nearly unique in North Africa, the thread of a continuity attested to by the identification of the places, the chronological cross-checkings, finally a tradition.

000 A bitter and violent tradition: the mountain grants asylum to the unsuccessful pretenders, conspires in all the intrigues, seizes the occasion for all the bad blows, brigandage, rebellions, sorcery. By that it restrains itself from all positive hope. It only wants -- but it wants this obstinately, heroically -- to conceal from any intrusion its petty internal quarrels and perhaps the unconscious nostalgia for the great things that might have been accomplished. In that it finds its freedom. It safeguards, in its exiguous cadre, a kind of methodological greatness. Vein, improverished, but unfailing, of the life of the oldest Maghreb.

Internal Sources

a) Morphology of the groups...

128 Let us not ask anything else of this distant past. The only
174 thing that counts for us here is the historical background of the
175 realities that we are going to investigate. But if we renounce,
and for cause, the lessons of the great history from which the
Seksawa have been cut off for half a millennium, it is in order
to resort to another series of documents, these internal and of an
619 unhoped-for richness.

634 The present structure of a taqbilt is a catalogue of origins.
128 No less than its historical permanence, its heterogeneity is a key
to explanation. It subjects the alleged genealogies of the differ-
613 ent ikhs-s, among which it is divided, to the incessant competi-
173 tion of rival claims and to the criterion of practical applications.
619 The economy thus comes to authenticate these traditions. If they
/61/ retain, for the oldest part, some legendary imprecision, they

/61 cont./

613 no less withstand a rigorous critique: indeed, the critique that
173 springs from the necessities of agricultural work and of vehement
619 claims. They have therefore plunged, at the very least for the
last two or three centuries, into an atmosphere of a singular objectivity.
Finally, it is these very legendary origins that convey
a collective option infinitely more informative for our purpose
than the dry chronology.

173 Let us look at the a. D'alh'a for example. Their habitat is
619 today dispersed in three places, on both sides of the sacred place
[101] of Z'init'. They present themselves as descendants of the eponymous
hero Amer u H'addô, historic personage of the fourteenth
century. Their tradition therefore bridges the present epoch and
that of the *agellid*-s. One of their branches, the a. Sefyan, in
the middle valley, is reputed to be of Arab origin. Is its name a
fossil of the relations that the montagnard kings maintained with
the Sofyân of the plain? How precious this fossil would be!...

In many cases, the *initium* of the arable lands, that is to say,
[423] the privilege of taking them in hand under good auspices, before
everyone else, is reserved for these old families, even if they
have not kept any political or economic prestige. Such, moreover,
is not the case for the a. D'alh'a, proud of their kinship
with those whom they call *Baba Âmer* and who lay claim, with
general consent, to their quality of Seksawa of pure stock.

634 How can a whole *taqbilt*, that of the a. H'adduyws, which itself
613 interprets its name as "son of H'addô son of Y'ûsuf," reconcile
this appellation with the profession, also quite clear, of diverse
619 origins for each of the *ikhs*-s that compose it, and almost none of
which go back to the eponym? We are alluding to an apparent
contradiction there. But it is almost only style. It conveys the
importance of classificatory names in a system where they scarcely
retain any positive content any more. And, on the other hand,
it expresses the difference in nature between the social cell, the
ikhs, amenable to precise successoral connections, and the political
cell, composed of subgroups that are most often not united
to one another by any kinship tie, even fictive.

/63 cont./
166
829
ancestry. It is to exist together, when one has come from so far, when one would have so many reasons not to be here. Style, one might say, is in the success of the adjustment, in its difficulty, sometimes even in its singularity. One does not pose as the handsome son from the Orient, but rather as the crafty little bastard who fits in his proper place.

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182
There is a nuance whose analysis is difficult to push further for the moment, under penalty of twisting it. But it /64/ thrusts itself upon anyone who enters, with the montagnard, into this discussion on unity in the multiplicity of origins, which is the preoccupation, the pride, and the science of the citizen. Let us take care: one feels here, once again since the beginning of this investigation, the action of a synthesis that, in general, is not that of kinship, even fictive, but something more immediate, at the same time more subtle. The frequent contradiction between the name of the taqbilt and the diversity of provenances offers the best beginning for the problem.

First Case

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/In the original source the following paragraph is printed in small type./ Here is, for example, the a. H'adduyws. A striking contradiction: the eponym is a historic personage whose lineage has been affirmed for seven centuries in the oral tradition. But they split themselves up as follows:

[Ait H'adduyws]

/64 cont./

619 634 632 613 621 173

Primary division of the taqbilt into "thirds," ththelth	Subdivision of the "thirds" into subgroups or "great ikhs-s"	Habitat by villages	Legendary origins
1) a. Wasif, "those of the valley."	a. Châib.	Uzaga, Igersafen, Tasa, a. Bah'ammo, Targa Ufella.	Immigrated from the Sous, leaving from a center of dispersion which would have been Talat n-a. Tunert, village presently in ruins. [166]
2) a. H'adduyws, properly speaking, likewise called a. Tasa.	a. Lbâz and a. Ggâhi.	Tasa and Fensu.	Came from the Idaw Semlal. Have a branch in Sekrat. There is another ikhs I. Semlal at Ikis (a. H'ammo). To these two subgroups have been agglomerated other ikhs, some of whom are reputed to come from afar: the a. Waffûf (Nfifa); the a. Rrais, the Imzilen (Chyâd'ma). Note the name of the a. Lhint, a name which is found again in Demsira, and where it is necessary to give up finding the Hintata, since, locally, they are interpreted as: People of "steel," lhint. [166]

/See p. 89 for the rest of the chart./

[Ait H'adduyws]

/64 cont./ 619

3) Idaw Geryun (in reality autonomous taqbilt).	a. D'alh'a.	Tinerghat, Rektwasif, Uzaga, Wawensawt.	Descendants of the eponym, the only ones to claim the ancestry.
	a. Messedut.	Alus.	Came from Sidi Mh'and u Ghâzi, near Taroudant.
	a. Buzid.	Rektwasif.	Came from the Idaw Zeddut.

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Integrated into the preceding	Different branches	Habitat by villages	Legendary origins
Residual populations	Ikessan.	a. Bah'ammo.	
	a. Ish'aq.	Fensu.	Ikhs-s of the Idukkalen and of the a. Umetjar.
	a. H'oggwa.	Mtili.	Reputed to have come from the H'mer. But their name is that of a great "league" of the Sous. [166]
	Iqorran.	Ighelmellen.	Unknown origin, first occupants chased out by the I. Geryun.
	a. Sâid u Buzid.	Ikis.	Unknown origin.
	Igurramen.	Imi n-wasif.	"Marabouts" of Mtugga origin. [792] [166]

[Ait D'alh'a]

/68 cont./

634 Only a tiny handful of families are Seksawa in origin: a
619 high-mountain group, the a. D'alh'a, and in the middle valley
a branch of the a. Musa. Here is how this latter taqbilt is composed, the habitat of which is situated immediately downstream from the sacred place of Z'init', and which from this fact presents a certain importance. Its name, like that of the a. Âbdella,
634 is connected with the royal dynasty. In detail, it is split up as
632 follows:

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Subdivision	Ikhs	Habitat	Origin invoked
Half from above	a. H'aqqi.	Tabradjut-Agadir.	Sidi Âmer u H'addo.
	a. H'amed.	--	Came from the Sous, with the Idma.
	a. Mzird'ad'.	--	They are from the residual a. Gasa.
	a. Jjaw.	--	Came from the a. Zemlal (a. H'adduyws).
Half from below	a. H'sayn.	T'abya.	They are from the residual a. Ish'âq.
	a. Khaled.	--	Sidi Âmer u'Haddo.
	a. Ichchiyaân.	--	Demsira, "clients" of Sidi Mh'and.
	a. u Gella.	Iger n-ssuq.	Dwiran in origin.
	a. Lâsri.	--	Ad'erd'ur (Idma).
	a. H'fid.	--	a. ba H'ammo (a. H'adduyws).
	a. Wammern.	--	Descendants of the marabout sidi Mh'and.

634 Thus the aggregate here is again composite. And neverthe-
184 less in this section of valley immediately below Z'init' there has
101 maintained itself /69/ a branch of true Seksawa, a branch of the
619 "King's sons." They share this privilege of authenticity only with

/69 cont./
423 family of this ikhs, that of the present amghar, even advanced
166 on this side. It is not surprising that in this expansion there might
● 619 have been a very deep feeling of recovery, of reconstitution of
traditional ensembles. Such a hypothesis is not contradicted by the explanation given today of the simultaneous presence below T'abya of original owners from three groups: Idma, ait H'adduyws, and Dwiran. This coalition drove out the Demsira and divided their lands among themselves. But it is customary that these recoveries bring about re-establishment of legitimacy: their
619 archeological value is therefore probable.

173 /70/ Legendary origin of a part of this peopling, going back
[613] to the ikhs of the a. Khaled, that is, to the a. D'alh'a, that is,
to the oldest Seksawa lineage -- or land distribution; there is an incontestable fact there: the symmetry of both sides of Z'init'. And a symmetry of which the most "legitimate" of the Seksawa are the agents. In this sense, it makes little difference whether this symmetry is an old vestige or arises from a recent restoration; the second hypothesis would perhaps be the most instructive.

Import of This Immigration From the South

166
613 The conclusion to be drawn from analyses that one could prolong indefinitely is that the great majority of the ikhs-s composing
619 the Seksawa today originate entirely from immigrants, and not from the authentic lineage, even though the latter is ~~still~~ represented and benefits from tokens of mystic and landed-property legitimacy.

This immigration comes from the South.

166 /In the original source the following four paragraphs are printed in small type./ No doubt we have turned up here and there an immigrant from the N. The case is particularly clear in Ibuban, where this origin gives rise to an instructive etiology.

173 The country of the Dukkâla was subject to a frightful tyranny.
166 One day a man received a visit from a soldier, who demanded
619 hospitality. This man was poor. He owned but one chicken,

[Ait Abdella]

/65 cont./

Second Case

634 /In the original source the following two paragraphs are
619 printed in small type./ The one of the a. Âbdella (1).

[195] 1. I thus note, very approximately, the local pronunciation of the name of this group, which differs appreciably from that of the name of an individual, Âbdelà, corresponding to ar. /Arabic/ ^{c}Abd Allah.

of the lower valley. Their name calls to mind that of a famous
[167] *agellid* of the fourteenth century. But, by the same contradiction
turned up in a. H'adduyws, the avowed origin of the different
ikhs-s is not even attributed to the Seksawa stock. The thing is
complicated here by an instability of habitat and by an uncer-
tainty peculiar to these marginal populations. Invasions, infil-
[175] trations, conquests, revolts, submission to the power of the plain,
in brief, destruction internally or externally, were repeated all
173 during the past. Legend, confirmed by the old land titles, has it
that the a. Âbdella succeeded the former Demsira occupants here.
634 During a period that we shall try to determine, the latter, spread
619 out well beyond their present sector, held the lower valley of the
Seksawa, up to Bul^{c}wân exclusively, and that of the asif n-a.
619 Lh'sen. To the E. they went up to Taddert of the Dwiran.

634 In the case of the a. Âbdella, whose whole history indicates
[178] vulnerability and who, upon contact with the plain, already lost
many of their old characteristics, the taqbilt is not divided into
subdivisions like the "thirds" of the a. H'adduyws. Here, it is
621 the village that plays the role of political unit -- which the
[613] mountain denies it. In each village *ikhs*-s abound, each of
which has its legend of origin.

[Ait Abdella]

/66/

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Villages	Names of ikhs and traditional origin
Bul^{c}wân	a. Lkhil, came from Tiddrarin (Sous) by way of Sidi Âli Iz'm (Dwiran). a. Si Mh'and, "companions" of the first ones. a. Sidi Ghânem, descendants of the saint, who has another tomb in H'âh'a. It would have originated from the Ud Âzzûz (Ud. Bessebâ^{c}). a. Wammern, descendant of the saint (Ammeln). a. Lmchari (Iberhan, Demsira). a. u Feryad' (Iberhan, Demsira). a. Bihi u Sâid (autochthons; would be on the way to extinction). a. Belh'âjj (autochthons; would be on the way to extinction). a. u Sâid Bennaçer (Jews converted by the Nâçirî?). a. Naçer, came from the a. Wagenna (Seksawa). a. Benjâa, came from Tizzgi (Gedmiwa). a. u. Kherraz (Idaw Z'al). a. Bujmâ u Âlla (Idaw Merzug, Mtugga). Ichkajjen (Idaw Mh'mud).
Ilutjan	a. Lâneyt, came from Iferks, in Intamlin (Mtugga). a. Lh'achum, from Imintanout (Nfifa). a. Warrah'man (Mez'ud'a).
Tizi Wargyun	a. Wammern "marabouts" of Ammeln (Anti-Atlas). a. Lh'âjj (?). a. Warrah'man (Mez'ud'a).
Talat u Qyar	a. Sâid u Bella (Agadir i-ysemgan, Ibuban). a. Iddar (Agadir i-ysemgan, Ibuban). a. Bihi u Ali (Agadir i-ysemgan, Ibuban). a. Skella (Agadir i-ysemgan, Ibuban).

/See page 92 for the rest of the chart./

[Ait Abdella]
[Ibubanen]

7 • 619 634 621 613 173 166 /66 cont./

Tuz'z'umt	Ih'ançalen, "marabouts" of Ah'ançal (Moyen Atlas). a. Lqaid, subgroup including: a. Lamghba, a. Bella u H'fid', a. bu Tefsut, a. Lh'sen u Ali, a. Bihi u H'fid, a. Chcheikh H'med, all having originated from the Sous like the a. Si Mh'and of Bul^{c}wân. a. Wanz'id' (high a. Lh'sen, descendants of Sidi Musa). a. Buhadi (Iberhan, Demsira). a. Mançur (Dwiran). a. Burjal (Dwiran).
Agawz	a. Buâbila (same origin as the a. Lqaid). a. Lqçir (same origin as the a. Lqaid). a. Sâid u Mh'and (same origin as the a. Lqaid). a. Lihran (same origin as the a. Lqaid).
Tiburin, Imi n-tghli	Regraga "marabouts." Ih'naychen (Dwiran). a. Kawsir (Dwiran). a. Jâa (Dwiran). a. H'med (Dwiran). a. Moh'ammed (Dwiran). a. Si Brik Wakrim (Dwiran). a. u Nd'd'am (Dwiran).

619 634 /67/

Third Case

[101] [312] [142] [181] /In the original source the following five paragraphs are printed in small type./ The third case will be that of a disinherited aggregate, the Ibubanen, plur. of Abuban, fem.: Tabubant (in the Arab documents, form: al-Bubânî), occupants of high declivities between the Amudder and the Ameznir. A country mutilated on all sides by its neighbors, without permanent streams, and almost without wells or springs. Their physical type from the very first contrasts with the unconstrained demeanor, the

[Ibubanen]

619 634 [142] [181] /67 cont./
pink tint, the plotters' expression of the a. Lh'sen, as well as with the cunning vitality of the Idma. Dirty because of the lack of water, unsightly and feeble, they are decadents. Among their heteroclite elements, a synthesis nevertheless seems to have [173] played a role. The legend exhibits all the details of a history indefinitely suppressed.

634 184 101 619 1) Some blacks, grouped at the foot of a hill with the significant name Awrir i-ysemgan, had their village destroyed by the immigrant Dukkâla (1).

> 1. At this moment the Bani Mâger, who are Maçmûda, are being driven away from the North bank of the Tensift, Sour. in Port., t. I, pp. 136, No. 2 and 193, n. 1. The present [648] group of the Al Chichâwa, grouping Berbérophones separated by the Ud Bessebâ from the Chleuh /Shluh/ mass of the Atlas, presents some embarrassing questions, but its existence doubtlessly forms "a bridge" between the Atlas and the more northerly Maçmûda populations, who have now disappeared through migration or Arabization.

Some of them took refuge in a. Âbdella, at Talat u Qyar. The rest remained at Tugg Lkheyr; they are the present ait Bumellut', miserable remains, excluded from the distribution of the ground. They live mixed with two a. Lh'sen ikhs-s: remnant of former occupants, forced guests; they are in fact in a state of submission to the a. Lh'sen.

[628] People of aberrant origin, like the ait Abbo of Timskert, living without communication with the others, or like the Inaghayn of Talburt, related to the a. Msseddat of the Tabgurt and struck by a saint's curse, vegetate, without ever exceeding three or four foyers.

[Ibubanen]
[Ait D'alh'a]

/67 cont./

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2) The immigrant Dukkâla -- quite a rare case of movement from the N., though this North was the Haouz, where the habitat of the Dukkâla extended up until a recent epoch -- are settled in a solid group at Amassin. From there, they thrust themselves into each of the other villages, on the ground which they henceforth share.

3) The ait Irz'z'i, chased by the Idma from their village situated on the asif n-a. Mh'nd, are in turn settled as offensive vanquished and appropriate everywhere, except at Amassin, their part of the lands. They are also found, under the name of a. [778] Mulid, in the villages of Timskert and especially of Iggayzen, where they have established a maqâm of their saint, this Baba Lh'âjj, with a personal, but still anonymous face, and localized in an old past, it is said, of 40 generations. A "mansion" of Sidi Ah'med u Âli, in this same village, is a place of "magic injunction," lᶜâr, for the totality of the Ibubanen: composite rabble, but whose ritual, economy, and a community of misfortune made a taqbilt.

Beyond the a. H'adduyws, the a. Âbdella, and the Ibubanen, one could multiply the examples. These three have been chosen as quite /68/ different ones in order to have stand out a common characteristic which does not owe anything to the unity of conditions: high-mountain conquerors for some, friable villagers of the piedmont, or disinherited vanquished -- these are indeed three different adventures. Whence the force of the impression that disentangles itself from them, and which one could formulate in the interrogative form: in this Seksawa ensemble, with such a characteristic personality, is there then nothing that might be truly Seksawa, I do not say in the historical objectivity, but in the consciousness, even the pretension of the inhabitants?

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[173]

A Vestige of the Ancient Seksawa: the Ait D'alh'a (1)

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1. Let us recall that we again found the name of T'alh'a in the oldest legendary genealogies of the Seksawa agellid-s. In this society, nothing is lost!

[Ait D'alh'a]

They share this
619 /69 cont./ privilege of authenticity only with
634 the a. D'alh'a of the high valley, whose habitat is arranged, in
184 relation to the mausoleum of Sidi Âmer u H'addo, just as theirs
101 is in relation to the sanctuary of Lala Aziza. Perhaps these are
[778] two symmetrical witnesses treated kindly by the invasions. Between them, no continuity: the whole middle valley of the river has been dominated by the intruders or the excluded, the a. Gasa. This rupture marked the collapse of the national history. But two islets have remained, and perhaps their safety was not a matter of chance or of a particularly efficacious resistance. They have, in a way, existed as witnesses, and perhaps as "guarantors." Between them are arranged the new arrivals, between them are sheltered their conquerors. Because the conquest of the country altered neither its substance nor its name. The arrivals also call themselves Seksawa. Some of them even claim origin from
[778] H'addô. The cult of the saints is thus continued. Z'init' remains up to a late epoch the foyer of asylum. The taqbilt-s still claim the old princely names of Musa and of Âbdallah. The mystic patronages of the soil remain intact.

423 Finally, and more precisely, the immigrant considers his oc-
166 cupation valid only when he has duly bought the land from the
619 former owners: Demsira in the lower valleys, a. Gasa in the middle. Whence processes extremely nuanced and complicated, which have left their written traces. We shall see that in detail concerning the a. Gasa. But let us note from now on that the relationship of the a. Musa and of the a. H'adduyws, on both sides of the Idma, arises from certain features of the landed-property structure. The analysis of ownership brings a striking confirmation to the story here.

/In the original source the following paragraph is printed in small type./ A family of Iger ŋ-ssuq, the a. Ibizzi, has estates in a. Bah'ammo in the high valley. Reciprocally, some a. H'adduyws of a. Zemlal possess some on the side of T'abya. Well downstream, in a. Âbdella at Imi-n-tghli, the a. Ânono (Idma) keep, with titles of origin, açl, an important joint property. In olden times, and still in the time of Lh'âjj H'fid', a famous

/70 cont./

173 which he had to sacrifice for his guest. But he had an only son,
166 who, exhausted by hunger, dared to strip a drumstick from the
619 roast. The angry guest then threw the child to the ground. The father killed the soldier and fled to the Atlas.

General folkloric theme? Undoubtedly (1).

[171] 1. We again find the same legend in Kabylie /Kabylia/, and still in order to explain the group displacements, C. Devaux, *Les Kebaīles du Djerdjera* /The Kabyle of the Djurdjura/, 1859, p. 334.

But also a trace of the driving back suffered by the populations of the Haouz: the Dukkâla, up to the sixteenth century, descended to the outskirts of Marrakech. Let us record this legend for what it is worth. We also again find some Dukkâla in Gund'afa country.

Another legend, but one which refers to the South this time. It deals with a small group vassalized by the a. Lh'sen, the far-away Iguntar. Their traditional origin, Tagenturt of the a. Widjdjas of the Sous, is confirmed by the entanglement of the property of their various *ikhs*-s in sectors marking the successive steps of an old immigration. The legendary ancestor, Mh'and, had two sons, one Ah'chmud, from whom the present families of Tagenza descend, and another, Mh'and, whose offspring populated not only a part of Tannammert, in present-day Iguntar, but Tinmrutin, Tagadirt, Wallagō, Tajjdir in Demsira, /71/ partially also Akhferga and Amejnes of the Irohalen. These *disjecta*
[423] *membra* preserve among them the fixed bond of landed-property co-ownership, and once again the value of the land documents is striking.

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[174] The fact is that in the great majority of cases it is an immigration from the Anti-Atlas or from the Sous, from the South in any case, that is related. This phenomenon of expansion from the S. toward the N. is a general phenomenon, confirmed by the

619 /71 cont./
166 rare analyses at our disposal concerning the composition of tribes
[174] of the Sous, such as a. Yah'ya and especially a. Wawzgit.

[464] This movement still exists, in the form of worker emigration, and there is to be seen in it a general rule whose significance exceeds the framework of the present work. The afflux of the al-
166 logeneous peoples doubtlessly followed phases of depopulation due
173 to epidemic, to the renewal of the forest (as in the history of
776 medieval Europe). The direction is from the S. toward the N.
619 This is what the hagiology recalls. sidi Mh'and comes from the Ammeln of the Anti-Atlas. His companion Sidi Lh'sen is reputed generally to belong to the Idma and to come from the S. Sidi Abdallah u Sâid, of the a. Tamment, taps the offerings of several Seksawa groups, although, significantly, his own ancestor sidi Sâid did not succeed in organizing anything in our sector. Several old documents mention the action of marabouts of Taroudant. The legend of sidi Âmer u H'addo even runs over to the other side of the crests, in Idaw Mh'mud and up to Mentaga.

166 The correspondences with the South and with the North do not
619 present the same character. The Seksawa draw their material, their substance, from the South. But their historic calling, just like that of the groups that maintain them, draws them toward the North. This contrast, on the plane of collective and individual psychologies, is perhaps that of the structures and of the event, or, if one wishes, of the sociology and of the chronicle. But this continual contribution from the S. plays still another role. Renewing indefinitely the archaic basis of the cantons, as the latter become exhausted in the vicissitudes that they owe as much to the appeal as to the hostility of the plain, that is, in sum, to the attractions as well as to the harm of the Maghrebi empires, it keeps the terms of the problem intact: the Chleuh /Shluh/ montagnard is always opposed in the same way to the city and Bedouin world. Thanks to this constant rising of strength, he [illegible] not won over any more than he succumbs.

/71 cont./

Fossil Populations

101 174 619 Almost everywhere, analysis discovers, beside and on the border of the great groups, residual families, to whom the agricultural augury is granted. Thus, in a. Âbdella, these a. Bihi u. Sâid /72/ of unknown origin, and extinct elsewhere. At Ikis, the Amarir, to which have come to be juxtaposed, four centuries ago, immigrants from the a. H'adduyws. Above Ammern is seen a Tagadirt Ikuzza, which is brought together with the Idaw Kazzo (H'âh'a). Let us also mention the a. Ish'aq, of the middle valley, but also having a branch in a. H'adduyws; the Iqorran of the Idaw Geryun; the ait Châib; the Ikessan; etc. Special mention must be made of two groups, remains of which are still found in the high valley and whom one frequently finds named in the oldest Seksawa documents. First the a. H'ogg^{w}a. It is said here that they belong to the H'mer. But their name singularly recalls that of a *leff* of the Sous. The Tah'ogg^{w}at contrasts with the Tagizzult. In Seksawa, these a. Hogg^{w}a were indeed dispossessed by emigrants from the Tagizzult. That is all that can be said for the moment. Let us also observe the a. Umgan. A curious name. They are perhaps only "People of the place," "People found in place," and finally "the Indigenes." Would they go back to the oldest Seksawa legitimacy? Perhaps their name suggests former classifications among different strata of population, like the *leff*-s of the Anti-Atlas. It is these a. Umgan that the people of Tasa refer to as legitimate and initial owners. The Arabized al-Mukânf distinction is frequent in the documents, and often as paraph of a scholar. Another finding that has weight, these documents refer not only to the present impasse of the I. Geryun, but to places such as Tawennrrast, Igelwan, not situated in a. Gâir. A circum-Tichka habitat and relations, that is to say, anterior to the present partitioning and segregation, are not the ones that are least archaic or least revealing in these testimonies. That seems to reinforce the liaison of these two groups to a certain Seksawa past, based as much on the ethnic data as on the geographical cadre that it suggests.

[Ait Gasa]

/72 cont./

101 /The rest of this section is printed in small type in the orig-
174 inal source./ But the big problem of the valley is that of the
619 disappearance of the a. Gasa. It is known that they now exist on
the other side of the Afuzar, ranged with the a. Tkssit and the a. Gâir in an ensemble artificially attached to the Gedmiwa.

172 Impossible to cross the Moyen /Middle/ Seksawa without falling on traces of the a. Gasa. Here archeology is confirmed
619 by legend, and memory has remained vivid concerning this powerful tribe, with its escarped forts, and which the curse of Lalla Aziza had conquered by a less numerous tribe, the Idma.

Archeologically their habitat is still recognizable from upstream of Z'init', going downstream, to the valleys ending in a cul-de-sac on the Afuzar. Particularly in the Assttif ravine, tiers in /73/ ruins, dried-up almond trees reveal the former prosperity. At Z'init', one of their forts bars the valley.

Popular tradition mentions several of their villages: Taggrurt,
[103] Amlal n-Gâr, Tannçemt, Jjgit, Tannsmekht, Iggiz, Wanchkrir,
Tamezgurt, Tagonit.

Their az'allo, where they come together for festivities, dominates the col making the ravine of Assttif communicate with that of the Imt'ddan. Surely a sign of an era when the axis of their life had left the main valley. Let us also note that they are associated with six "mansions" of Lalla Aziza, which fan out toward the E., just as a whole squad of sacred places protects it on the side of the plain. For it does not have to be protected from either the W. or from the S.

The a. Gasa are associated with the saint in a complex, but still classical system of relations with two faces: liaison-repulsion.

173 An unvarying tradition attributes their eviction to Lalla
619 Aziza. Their crimes were numerous. They plundered the pilgrims and gratified their debauchery on them. One day, a chief named sidi Yah'ya u Lqaid, from Z'init', having asked for their help in gathering the harvest, they cut the throat of one of his sons, whom they left wrapped under a mat. Shortly afterwards, during an ambush, he killed 11 of their men, including their chief.

[Ait Gasa]

/73 cont./

173 619 one Abdelmumen. These relations between the holders of the sanctuary and the people of the nearby fort indicate significant tension. Popular reprobation still weighs upon these vanquished ones two centuries and a half after their total effacement. It seems that Seksawa legitimacy was never conferred upon them, despite the proximity of Z'init'. They are considered usurpers; but perhaps this is only the consequence of a late classification.

How have the new arrivals, Idma and Imt'ddan, today servants of the saint, been able to obtain the good graces of Lalla Aziza? Is this a historical fact or a reinterpretation qualifying the conquerors after the event? It is a difficult matter to resolve. However that may be, these conquerors, eliminating the a. Gasa usurper, just as not far away the a. Lh'sen eliminated the Demsira usurper, have been the restorers of the Seksawa legitimacy, and legend has kept account of it for them.

101 174 619 The name of the a. Gasa is very old. Its consonance recalls three old Berber names: ait Waddjas, ait Iggès, Uqâça. Le /al-/ Baydhâq mentions some Banu Waggâs in the Genfisa confederation, and among the "Çawda of the mountain" some Unghasa (1), where E. Laoust recognizes our a. Gasa. 174 619 One is, of course, poorly informed on the site of these different branches in the Almohade epoch. It is possible that the ancestors of the a. Gasa, belonging to a neighboring group, inserted themselves as profiteers in the Seksawa system at the time when it was weakening (end of the fourteenth century) and remained in it until the time when the forces from the S. and the curse of the saint drove them out.

In such a matter, it is necessary to be very heedful of the notion of legitimacy, /74/ from which the a. Gasa were excluded, at least starting from a certain time, and from which, on the contrary, the Idma will benefit. But here, in this sense, is a new archeological clue.

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1. Among the agricultural quarters of Z'init', note the existence of a *tamazirt Iwanghasen*.

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/74 cont./

There exists a path called Tagharast i-ysseksawan (1), direct, but difficult communication between Usikis, original cradle of Idma power, and the confluent of the two highest valleys, the "between rivers," Igersafen. Thus, while avoiding the great valley, the high Seksawa and the historical center of dispersion that one can locate on the North counterforts of the Tabgurt could communicate. This liaison with the archaic system of the Tichka is certainly very important.

It indicates an era when the Moyen /Middle/ Seksawa, because of hostile occupants or for some other reason, had to be avoided. One might consequently wonder if this axis, disregarding the river path and capable of leading to Lalla Aziza by way of the plateau of the Mzawt, was not anterior to the present political configurations.

If we put it in relation to the initial system of the Idma, straddling the Tassila, the Agersili basin, the Inraren Z'dinin plateau, and the ravines that radiate from it, this impression is reinforced. The Idma tradition has it that, at a certain time, [634] Idaw Geryun (we mean the oldest Seksawa, whom the ait D'alh'a still represent today) and Idma by turns elected a moqaddem yearly; the Tagharast permitted the direct displacement of the jemâa-s to the place of the election. However that may be, beyond the articulation of a geographical complex that history confirms, we can quite legitimately imagine that the settling of the Idma must have been authorized by the patronage of the former

1. Another Tagharast leads from the zaouia of Ammern to the a. Musa by disregarding the river valley. There are other examples of these "reserve" paths, the existence of which undoubtedly expresses phases of rivalry between populations ruling the river and populations ruling the forest. But we know too little of the past of the Atlas to get further involved on a course nevertheless indeed suggestive.

/74 cont./

487 masters, men and saints; and it is not without interest that the
174 legend, the topography, and the archeology contribute to making
619 one presume direct communication between sidi Âmer u H'addo,
Lalla Aziza, and the first metropolises of the conqueror. It is by these constellations of forces, political and religious, that the elimination of the a. Gasa was made possible.

Legitimist Conquerors

The Achievement of the Idma

173 "From the south comes royalty," proclaims a Chleuh /Shluh/
166 song (2).
619

2. Justinard, "Notes sur l'histoire du Sous au XVI^e^ s. /Notes on the history of the Sous in the sixteenth century/," A.M., XXIX, 1934, p. 84.

And that is true of this part of Morocco, whose masters have come from the Anti-Atlas, or from even farther away. That can be judged by /75/ the history of a taqbilt with a rapacious and cunning personality, the Idma.

173 Tradition has them going back to a sherif from the Anti-Atlas.
175 On the periphery of the Lkst, one in fact recognizes some Tudma.
619 The al-Mançûr expedition (1580) subjugated some a. Tudma (1).

1. Justinard, Kunnâch tr., in Notes sur l'histoire du Sous au XVI^e^ siècle, 1934, pp. 171, 179, 182. The Toudma can still be spotted even today in the same place.

In Ammeln, some shorfa of the same name are exempt from tribute. One of their families is that of the Awlâd sidi ^c^At'â'illah, among whom a certain Sidi Âbû Zakariyâ, now buried in H'âh'a, was a contemporary of the golden Sâadian, who sent him back to Fès /Fez/. All of this is affirmed by

[Idma]

/75 cont./

173 175 619 documents, and as historical in the matter as is possible. The Idma of the Seksawa claim to be attached to these Awlâd sidi ᶜAt'a'illah shorfa. With respect to this, they exhibit a copy of an attested affidavit of çafar 1087 (1676), a copy verified several times, the last of which in 1178 (1765).

173 175 166 619 According to this genealogy, sixteen generations ago, an immigration from the Anti-Atlas brought five sons of a sherif of the Anti-Atlas, Sidi Yah'ya b. Muh'ammad Maghagh (2), to Usikis, from where they spread out through conquest. They bear archaic names: Jannûn, Aftûn, Danûq, Ghazâl, Isân, for which the oral tradition, at this same place in the genealogy, substituted five others, of Arabic aspect. Characteristic doublet. The arrival of the emigrants marks the crossing of a threshold, beyond which normality reigns. The unknown, the sacredness, the oddness -- or the authenticity -- of the appellations remains in the beyond, in a legendary murkiness. To these five immigrants are linked the present ikhs-s of the Idma, whose identity [613] can be followed almost confidently through the three centuries covered by their archives. The descendants of Mh'and populate Usikis and Ad'erd'ur, those of ᶜAli Usikis and Tasselli, those of ᶜAbd al-Wâh'id Meghdir and Ad'er'd'ur. Sulaymân is the an- [776] cestor of the Iborach of Usikis and, in the sixth generation, of the saint of Assttif, Sidi Lh'sen u Mh'and. He is a historic personage whose paraph many documents brought forth from our day still bear. He lived in the second half of the seventeenth century. One can thus place the legendary arrival of the first Idma toward

2. Old Berbère name. Ibn H'azm, Jamharat, Lévi-Provençal ed., 1951, p. 462, 1. 21, recognizes the Maghâga as the name of a group; Ibn Khaldûn, tr. Histoire des Berbères /History of the Berbers/, t. I, 1925, pp. 171, 232. Cf. on the name of Jannûn, Ibn H'azm, op. laud., p. 43, 11. 10 and 16 sq. (Idrisids).

[Idma]

619 173 175 [166] /75 cont./
the end of the fifteenth century (3).

> 3. The Fawâ'id, Justinard tr., 1953, p. 56, register a sheik, Mûsâ at-Tudmâwt, who left the Sous to settle in the Daran. He died in 1003 Heg.: 1595.

[776] The saint of Assttif precedes by six other /76/ generations another Idma saint, from a collateral lineage, Sidi Lh'sen u Bubker of Ad'erd'ur, specialist in the expulsion of spirits. With him, we are at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

361 619 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ Let us stop for a moment at the site of these two villages of Usikis and Ad'erd'ur, first settlement of the Idma. Usikis was their first stop, from which they progressively spread out. Its dignity is still eminent. It was almost always in this village that the chiefs were recruited. Their designation was brought about in comitia at Inraren Z'dinin, and the college broke up only at Usikis, on the rock called Taunt n-Fad'ma H'ssayn, after the invocation of the saint of Ammern. The village is built in latitudes of a cruel desolation. Everywhere massive escarpments of black schist hang over it. Several clusters of houses, stuck on a puny esplanade, dominate the almost vertical drop of a prodigious staircase of fields. This spurt of human will surges [103] forth in a general aridity, which crushes it everywhere and which the toponyms themselves express: thus near the village there is a "field of hunger," bur n-lâz', just as a little higher there is a "source of hunger," talâint n-jju^{c}, or a "field of the Jew," iger n-bhenkuk. These derisive appellations aim at conjuring up [621] misery. But, visibly, only the tension of the group succeeds in maintaining life. It is expressed by the connivance of the saints and by a folkloric richness indicating a strong context of rite and legends. It is also expressed in rural order, in municipal quarreling, and in military expansion.

[Idma]

/76 cont./

361 The other metropolis of the Idma, Ad'erd'ur, is built at the
619 bottom of a pit that an acropolis dominates toward the S. This agadir was the seat of an old habitat. The persecutions of spirits depopulated it: the devil was at work in the houses. The people were truly delivered only by the intervention of Sidi Lh'sen b.
[777] Bubker. Still today, this side is called unlucky and is hardly in-
[613] habited any more except by the ikhs of the ait Lqaīd, which leads a life apart. The present village groups its houses in front of the agadir, on a versant exposed to the S. Downstream, another rock in the form of an acropolis, rising in the very bed of the torrent, the Tansmert u Rrumi, passes as having been a fortress of the Christians, former occupants of the valley. At its summit a block of several tons rests in balance. Two others rear a black silhouette that seems to look downstream. A country of dark legends, of cruel memories.

173 At a time that one can put at the beginning of the eighteenth
619 century, the Idma were still reduced to this small canton, re-
[795] doubtable, however, by their arms and appetite. Nevertheless, on the other side of the Seksawa, the zaouia of Assttif had already
[796] been rendered illustrious by a national saint. Between the two, covering the main valley up to Z'init' and the affluent valleys up to Assttif on one hand, Wanchkrir on the other, reigned the a. Gasa. The history of the Idma, land development, expansion of groups, and structure of the command, is henceforth linked to the expulsion of the "usurpers."

/77/ Still today, popular tradition goes back to this period when the Idma were reduced to two villages and when, either concurrently or alternatively, two lineages, coming from two sons of Maghagh, exercised power. The first two chiefs that are cited are, toward the end of the seventeenth century, Brahim u Jâa Rryun of the ait Uchâwi and Wakrim u Sâid of the Iseqqalen.
173 They fought against the a. Gasa. The latter invited them to a
721 "banquet-palaver," tiwilt, and massacred forty Idma by surprise. Fortunately the two chiefs were warned by a woman who signaled
619 to them from the top of a rock that there would be killing. They pretended to have forgotten a piece of clothing and slipped away.

[Idma]

/77 cont./

173 It was a good thing that they did. The woman who had saved
721 them is not identifiable: perhaps it was Lalla Aziza. For the
619 saints conspired in this war of feints and plunder. The scene of
broken hospitality is frequent in the past of the mountains. Its
color, its cruelty evoke the oldest Mediterranean mythology.

The struggles against the ait Gasa continued throughout the
eighteenth century. It was starting from 1214 Heg. = 1798 that
[175] their elimination was accomplished. That was the time of the
[423] great landed-property transfers. Z'init' was freed, the valley
occupied first by conquest, then by purchases, according to the
classic procedure. Below what the geologists call "the capture
of Agersili," another important bourg henceforth enters into
Idma history: Wanchkrir.

361 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ This village is arranged in two superposed masses. The one below, on a rocky peak, bears, with the habitations, the ruins of a fort attributed to the a. Gasa. The one above, from which is separated the block of the château of a contemporary great chief.

621
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619 The population is a veritable rabble. Here is how it is split up, ikhs by ikhs.

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619
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Name of ikhs	Legendary origin	Comments
a. Ikru, "those of the kid."	Contemporaries of the a. Gasa, but came very anciently from Tafrawt of the Anti-Atlas.	Have the agricultural initium.
a. bu Idder.	Came from Iger n-Tiqqi (a. Gâir).	
a. u Baggo.	Came from Anzammer (Mtugga).	
a. bu Bah'li.	Vestige of the a. Gasa.	
a. Uchchen.	—	
a. Khunch. a. Wakrim.	Idma, came from Tasselli. I-seqqalen from Usikis.	These are the only two conquering branches.

[Idma]

/77 cont./

173 175 619 Around 1700, the Idma secured, on the side of the Tabgurt, the water from the Amerdul spring which irrigates the ground of Agersili, and, lower, /78/ the lands of Ad'erd'ur. Two documents concluded at the end of these debates confirm it. I have given the translation of them elsewhere. The a. Gasa eliminated, the conquerors were no longer uneasy about their immediate neighbors, a. Mh'nd and Imt'ddan, with whom their alliance has endured up to our day, without great vicissitudes it seems. A rapacious policy, fertile in actions of guile or of achievement, is the lot of their chiefs. The monopoly of land and brutalities seem to be the method necessary for them. Not without ripostes from the group sometimes. Tradition knows several violent deaths of the amghar-s who henceforth reign over all the present ensemble. Thus Wakrim u Bella, in 1881, was killed by the thief Bahhas, whom, at the head of the jemâa, he rounded up in his house. Âbdallah Ijjiwi of the a. Sirra was assassinated during his sleep at Talmud'ât.

There is nothing surprising in the precision of such anecdotes. Among the Idma, the power of group life depends on fidelity to the past. An oral chronicle recollects, along with the memory of the struggles against the a. Gasa, that of the great chiefs whose succession, from the eighteenth century to our day, is retraced in all its details. Therefore here is a list of them. It will be given here less for its own interest than for the cachet of historicity that it impresses on the life of these small societies.

/The following paragraph is in small type in the original source./ The farthest that one goes back, it is a great amghar of the family of the Iseqqalen whose silhouette is discovered. Lh'âjj Bujmâ, profiting from the liquidation of the a. Gasa, procured for himself by law, violence, or ruse numerous landed estates in the valley. He was carried away by the plague epidemic of 1790, and it seems that his heirs had to disgorge (1). [731] [428]

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1. Text translated in our "Documents anciens sur la coutume immobilière des

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173 /78 cont./
175 /footnote 1 continued/ Seksawa /Old documents
(428) on the landed-property customs of the Seksawa/."
(731) R. afr., 1948, p. 391. On these epidemics at
the end of the eighteenth century, an-Nâçirî,
"Istiqçâ'," Arch. Mar. tr., X, p. 14; Ezziani,
Le Maroc de 1631 à 1812 /Morocco from 1631
[648] to 1812/, Houdas tr., 1886, p. 181; the number of successions in escheat is so great that the Makhzen /makhzan/ sends special agents into the Sous to collect them. In the mountains, however, it is always the commune that applies itself to these recoveries. And it does it within impeccable juridical forms.

173 ~~His uncle~~ succeeds him: this is Moh'ammed u Yah'ya. Then
619 follow:

Wakrim u Bella n-a. Lgerchman of Usikis.
Brahim u Yâza n-a. Ilarz of Usikis.
Moh'ammed u Llila n-a. H'addo.
Brahim u Mohammed u Zed'd'ib.
Wakrim u Bella u Lh'âjj of the Iseqqalen.
His son Moh'ammed u Bella Ânono.
Wakrim u Bella.
His nephew Moh'ammed u Brahim Lh'âjj n-a. Zed'd'ib.
H'fid' u Mohammed n-a. u Llila.
Sâid u Akâyus n-a. u Muzun (Usikis).
Âbdallah Ijjiwi n-a. u Sirra of Tannsmekht.
/79/ Lah'sen u Sâid n-a. u Muzun (a. u H'aqqi of Tasselli).
Mohammed Akraray (Talmud'ât).
Lh'ajj H'fid' u Moh'ammed Wânono, father of the present amghar. He is violent conqueror, doubling as a flexible politician. He commanded for two years, then left on a pilgrimage.
H'fid' u Moh'ammed u Llila n-a. H'addo: he died of leprosy.
Moh'ammed u Lh'âjj: he became blind.
Lh'ajj H'fid' Wânono: he definitively recaptured the power that his family has kept up to now.

/79 cont./

The Ordeals of the Vassal

571 634 619 On both sides of the Idma, two vassal groups, the a. Mh'nd and the Imt'ddan. We shall never know from where their alliance came or what its procedure was. The Atlas presents such forms in an already adult or even decadent state. It is elsewhere, in the Moyen /Middle/ Atlas or in Mauretania, that it is necessary to go to seek, in order to catch them alive, the pacts between groups in their ritual richness (1).

[129] We grasp them here only secondhand and interpreted. The contribution of the Imt'ddan to this inquiry will consist therefore, not in recalling remote pacts, but in the historical usage to which they have given rise.

174 166 619 The Imt'ddan, they too, came from the Sous. In a type of place called Ighzer u Zerqi, in the Tazerwalt. It seems then that their expansion must be put in relation with that of this religious center, whether they were the distant scouts for it or, more

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1. Nevertheless de Foucauld has already presented a remarkable study of the "vassalage" and of the rite of dhabîh'a for the eastern Haut-Atlas and Drâ region. He has seen very well the major morphological role of these protections, Reconnaissance au Maroc /Discovery in Morocco/, 1888, pp. 130 sq. In Morocco, and for the recent period, let us cite two excellent articles by H. Bruno-G.-H. Bousquet, "Contribution à l'étude des pactes de protection et d'alliance chez les Berbères du Maroc central /A contribution to the study of the pacts of protection and of alliance among the Berbers of central Morocco/," Hesp., 1946, pp. 353 sq., and Dj. Jacques Meunié, "Les oasis des Lektaoua et des Meh'amid /The oases of the Lektaoua and the Meh'amid/," Hesp., 1947, pp. 420 sq. But the Mauretanian and Touareg /Tuareg/ domain would give even more vivid colors.

[Imt'ddan]

/79 cont./

174 probably, had been chased from it by the saint. Morocco's past
166 is full of these geographical movements, following a kind of
619 ideological eruption over a given point.

The first habitat was Tamt'ddit, not far from the forested crest that separates the Seksawa from the Dwiran. On the col itself is seen a "mansion," tarrut', of the saint of the Tazerwalt, Sidi Ah'med u Musa. From there the immigrants turned toward the main valley by a movement homologous to the one of their future Idma allies. Thus they too had to fight the ait Gasa. Moreover, they became ministers of Lalla Aziza. For the operations of their public life, they met above Tamt'ddit, at the place called /80/ Assarag (Agoni), a replica of the Inraren Z'dinin of
174 of the Idma. They elected two moqaddem-s yearly, and the
175 chronicle has faithfully listed the succession of the most striking
634 of these chiefs. /The following listings are in small type in the
619 original source./

Âbdennur n-a. H'sayn u Brahim, of Tamt'ddit, in 1002 Heg.: 1594.
Naçer u Moh'ammed Lâgid.
Naçer u Âli.
Âli Wah'man (a. Igejder of Tamt'ddit), then his son Sâid.

At this time the political power of the Imt'ddan, whose curve had classically evolved toward tyranny, was in the hands of a great amghar, Messâud u Jâa Benhd'id' Bwizgwman (died 1270 Heg. = 1861). He chased the a. Gasa from their last haunt, Tidli, in the Afuzar. He spread into Dwiran and Indmaghus. He secured for himself a great many pieces of land, which the taqbilt will will divide for itself into nine lots in 1277, for he died without male children, which is a just punishment.

Then they returned to the elected moqaddem, and these are successively:

Belkhir u Lah'sen.
Brahim u Lah'sen Aferyad'.
Messâud u Lah'sen, brother of Aferyad'.

[Imt'ddan]
[Idma]

619 /80 cont./

174 175 634 Then again, the system of the two moqaddem-s, one for Tagunit, the other for Tamt'ddit.

175 Here now are two documents from annals.

The first, which dates from 1799, notes a jump of the vassal.
[619) The jemâa of the Imt'ddan specifies in it its territorial limits.
After which, it affirms that /the following paragraphs, up to the
175 last paragraph of the subsection, are in small type in the original
539 source/:
619 "their affairs are distinct from those of the Idma. The Idma have a distinct orf in the matter of civil and penal responsibilities. The Idma do not have to meddle in the affairs of the Imt'ddan: they themselves have put an end to the good relations by trying to create factions among the Imt'ddan, by threatening to rule the latter, to place them under protectorship. The Imt'ddan do not want that. Henceforth they refuse to assemble with the Idma in a single thought and a single word. The matter has come to the point that if someone marries his daughter to an Idma, she will not have ç'adâq, for the woman is the bond of the devil -- God save me from her snares. May everyone among the tribes know that the Imt'ddan are distinct from the Idma, do not reckon with them, unless it is for war."

175 The name of one or of several notables from each ikhs
726 follows.

619 At the time a conflict had broken out between the Imt'ddan and the Idma, then governed by the family of the great amghar Lh'âjj Bujmâ or his /81/ immediate successors, who climbed up to Tagunit, without the power to reach Tamt'ddit. The resistance was organized around the chief of the Imt'ddan, Messâud Bwizgwman, who we therefore see in power, although no title is given to him in the enumeration.

This rebellion was without a tomorrow.

In the "military coalitions," amqqun, the Imt'ddan counted as a khoms with four other khoms-s, three of them as Idma and one as a. Mh'nd.

[Imt'ddan]
[Idma]

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726 /81 cont./

But these expeditions were far from being entirely beneficial; this is the subject of the second document.

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619 "The 9 çafar of the year 1303 of the Hegira, during the night from Tuesday to Wednesday, the Idma and those of Tamt'ddit left on an expedition against the a. Gâir of Tawrar. In fact the a. Gâir from above and those from Tagist had sent to tell us about it, thus traitorously involving us in this expedition. They said to us: 'When you have killed Ah'med b. Âli Lah'wach, our unity will be realized, for there is but one traitor in the tribe, it is he.'

"Thus we fell upon Ah'med and killed him. But the a. Gâir did not keep their word and attacked us by treachery. A certain number of wounded Imt'ddan took refuge in some houses. They suffered a siege by the allied tribes for three days, during which they remained deprived of food and water. Their number rose to 52: five originally from Taddert (Dwiran), one of whom died. Five from Z'init', one of whom died. Thirty-two from Tamt'ddit, 14 of whom died.

"As for the Idma, they were 11 and lost two men.

[792] "The besieged finally laid down their arms upon the intercession of the marabouts sidi Âli b. Ah'med and his brothers, who had come to the spot to restrain the enemies and to demand from them a promise of safe life for the besieged, in exchange for ransom... [incomprehensible member of phrase]. But the enemies betrayed the marabouts and paid no attention to them.

"It was the a. Gâir, the Imelwan, the Maghusa, the a. Gasa, the a. Tkssit, and the a. H'adduyws who intended to massacre us. Those of the besieged whose lives were safe were stripped of their arms, guns, and daggers, as well as of their clothes. They fled completely nude. The enemies took their arms from them. They took from them all of their effects, without thinking further of tomorrow or saying to themselves: 'We should fatally meet with these people who are our neighbors.' It was in vain that one of the marabouts told them: 'Take only their arms and they will bring you the ransom that you desire.' But the enemies had agreed upon the death of our men and only those whom God saved escaped.

[Imt'ddan]
[Idma]

/81 cont./

175 "Whoever reads this document will measure what effects hate
539 produced upon us. Whoever among us will henceforth be content
726 to see the people of these tribes pass on our territory, without
doing anything to them, for all that he would have been aware of
619 the forfeit of which we were victims, we shall call him to account
tomorrow, on the day of the Resurrection. O you who will come
after us, reflect on what has been recorded in this text: it was
the decree of God.

/82/ "After the Idma had 'beaten' the ait H'adduyws at Awnass, they stripped the vanquished of their arms, but let them go, whereas our enemies, on this day, did something to us which will remain forever between us.

"O people of Tamt'ddit, of Z'init', whoever will be contented to see a. H'adduyws, a. Tkssit, a. Gasa, a. Gŝir, Imelwan, or Maghussa pass on our territory without getting vengeance, we shall punish him on the day of the Resurrection."

Pathetic funereal inscription. We are in full annalistic style
[195] there, with a composition not devoid of artifice. I am giving
this document in its entire length. One will draw certain conclu-
[814] sions from it if one bears in mind that it is the work of a humble
village scholar.

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Attempt at Reconstitution of the Land History of the Moyen /Middle/ Seksawa (1)

[127] 1. Chapter set up entirely with the help of land documents.

The arms of the Idma and of their vassals would not have succeeded, in themselves alone, in driving away the a. Gasa. They found an efficient ally in divine will, moved by the curses of Lalla Aziza. And their progress was accompanied, step by step, by juridical regularization.

The liaison of these three aspects: military, mystic, landed property, restores a verity of atmosphere. But let us not hasten to cry "primitive." Here it is not a question, and quite the

[Ait Gasa]

/82 cont./

174 contrary, of a stage of indivision /Fr. indivision, "indivision,"
175 "joint possession"/ among the law, the sacred, and the temporal
619 initiative of the group. What does rule among these three orders
of facts, at the epoch envisaged, is a division of labor, an agreement, the very personal modes of which we shall have to analyze.
127 However that may be, such a correlation presents in its nature
great documentary interest. That of sorting out from localizable written testimonies the unfolding of a long phase of the valley's history. Innumerable titles of purchase, where at least one of the parties belongs to the a. Gasa, are produced in the legal proceedings of the present time. The inventory of two series of land records, those of the family of the a. Ikru and that of the present chief of the a. Gasa emigrants, Brahim Aharqus, has even been possible. And there has been recourse accessorily to other, more lacunary elements.

175 /The following paragraphs, up to the last one in this section,
174 are in small type in the original source./ The family of the a.
619 Ikru, originally from the Sous, has preserved up to our day a
marginal existence which has kept it apart and from the successes and ordeals of the group to which it was agglomerated: a. Gasa at first, and now Idma. Its descendant, the gardener Akonad' of Imintanout, cited in a legal dispute over property a large number of ancient documents, among /83/ which some twenty could have been applied to the land. In an appeal, however, he lost the case, which he had started, in the name of an old legitimacy, against the present, and already old, occupants: some Imt'ddan. The right of origin, however secular it may be, and doubtlessly for this very reason, was defeated in the case at hand by the verified possession. It could not be otherwise in a time of landowner and judiciary normalization. But the debate was interesting, because it made many old and valuable ideas crop up.

127 Another series of documents, nostalgically saved by the a. Gasa, disconsolate, it seems, by the curse of the saint and by the loss of their lands, constituted the second large element of documentation, the toponymic cross-checking of which permitted verifying the exactitude. An exactitude that leaps over, if I may venture to say it, two centuries of exile.

[Ait Gasa]

175 174 619 /84/ In the second part of the fifteenth century, and probably toward the end of it, the Idma settled at Usikis (with its Agersili ground). From there, in a second stage, they advance and occupy Wanchkrir (Inraren Z'dinin ground) and Ad'erd'ur (valley of the Tazmzgart). Agersili and Wanchkrir were taken from the a. Gasa. Infiltration by purchases followed by military liquidation, or violent colonization followed by regularization?

What would suggest the first hypothesis is the very ancient date of a sale consented to concerning his part of Agersili by an a. Gasa to an Idma (document of 987 Heg.: 1568). The *terminus ad quem* of the facts resulting in the second hypothesis is offered by a document of 1013 Heg.: 1605. Some a. Gasa formerly occupants of Wanchkrir, "today in ait Gâir," testify on the subject of a building situated on the perimeter of this village.

At this time (beginning of the seventeenth century), the ground of the a. Gasa had shrunk to the main valley. Leaving the N. counterfort of the Tabgurt, which the conquerors held, it began toward the S. at "the boundary of Lalla Aziza," *Tiktit n-Lalla Aziza*, on the river, and ended beyond the present Tasseli, at Imi y-Ikis perhaps. Two large villages, Jjgit and Tannsmekht, dominate this sector. A left-affluent ravine, from Tigomma Titchekht (below Wanchkrir) and right-affluent ravines, toward the Afuzar, complete this perimeter. One finds there, at the place called Amlal n-Gâr, several centers of life: Tançmt, Rekto, in ruins today, in the localities of the present zaouia of Assttif.

[726] The conflict between a. Gasa on one hand, Idma and Imt'ddan on the other, continued in the seventeenth century. Without issue. It is from the beginning of the eighteenth century that a retreat of the a. Gasa took place, which turned into disaster and, toward the end of the century, ended in definitive liquidation. As always it is difficult to distinguish in the documents the phases of violent or contractual dispossession, each doubtlessly preparing for or completing the other.

At a date prior to 1122 Heg.: 1710, the village of Tannsmekht and its mosque were sacked. A first emigration of the a. Gasa occurs, followed by a peaceful or offensive return to

/84 cont./
175 the ground of Jjgit (act of 1131 Heg.: 1719). At this same
174 time, numerous acts bring about or sanction the Idma occu-
619 pation at Wanchkrir (1127 Heg.: 1715), Iggiz (1074 Heg.:
1664), even Tannsmekht (1139 Heg.: 1727), etc.

[361] Some a. Gasa still remain at Tannsmekht. A bill of sale for a house, dated 1131 Heg.: 1719, proves it. The position of this village is capital. Upstream, the agricultural colonies of Usikis, Imi Wusikis, and Tiwghla are doubtlessly already settled. To the S. the grounds of Iggiz and Bwizgaren, already infiltrated by monopolies or purchases, are squeezed between Idma and Imt'ddan. They pass over at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Two powerful personages, who, on account of their origin, knew how to keep a position lateral to the conflict, would invest by their purchases, separately but in concert, all the land included between the Lalla Aziza boundary to the N., the place called Tiddram Wamden to the S., in the direction of Tannsmekht, and up to the approaches of Wanchkrir. They were Lh'âjj Brahim of the a. Ikru (Tannsmekht) and H'ammo bel Lh'âjj of the a. H'ammo (Lalla Aziza). It is not unimportant that of these two personages one represented /85/ a very old family, the other, the support of the saint: a double form of *auctoritas*.

[539] The documents of *istir^{c}â'*, "ritual protestation" against monopoly, multiply in the a. Gasa archives: "With fit document of reservation and safeguard as to his rights, and proclaimed at the mosque, and cried to the point that his cry reached the throne of the Merciful..." thus begins, among others, a document of 1127 Heg.: 1715 on the subject of Jjgit: its tone rejoins Greek antiquity, which used the same formula word for word.

Tannsmekht having fallen, the a. Gasa twisted back to the ravines between the river and the ridge of the Afuzar. The place called Amlal n'Gâr between them was the object of numerous operations (cf., for example, documents of 1177 Heg.: 1764, 1194 Heg.: 1783). They reinvested there, we might say. They were not driven out by the Imt'ddan until the end of the eighteenth century. Then they pass the ridge of the Afuzar. A document of

[Ait Gasa]

/85 cont./
175 1259 Heg.: 1833 mentions some a. Gasa still living, who, driven
174 from Rekto, are now on the other side at Dddu-wzru.
619 In the meantime, in the main valley, the Idma, and among them the family of the Iseqqalen (curiously, homonym of an ait Gasa family of Tannsmekht), have slowly spread. The first two acquirers of Iggiz, who are also intercessors, find themselves in part dispossessed. New times, new masters. It is their turn to set down istir^{c}â'. Thus, in 1253 Heg.: 1837, Naçr u Ali Ikru solemnly protests against the encroachments of the ait Umghar of Tannsmekht and of Messâud u Jâa of Tamt'ddit. In fact the two taqbilt-s are in the full phase of personal power.

[634] In 1252 Heg.: 1827, 12 old men from Usikis protest against
[578] a great amghar, an obstinate monopolist, and from whom only
[731] the epidemic of 1212 Heg.: 1798 could deliver them.

"The witnesses of those present know the late Lh'âjj Bujmâ
175 Wakrim as-Saqâlî of Usikis by sight, name, and person. In testi-
539 mony thereof, they state that in his lifetime he exercised his
619 domination over the whole Idma tribe -- he and his sons, the Sheik Brâhim b. al-H'âjj and Sidi Belâîd, who thrust himself into the juridical consultations and was the Cadi for the entire tribe. Among the Idma there was no one who could set himself against him in the deliberations, nor any prevarications other than his.

"In his time, he and his sons bought land in all the cantons of the Idma tribe, took possession of their purchases, and were not belated anywhere in leaving rights in abeyance, since they kept power within living memory and thus maintained themselves until
[731] their death. This took place in 1214 (1800), the year of the epidemic. Their properties remain everywhere as they were. To our knowledge, no one has encroached upon them. But all that has remained as it is in the possession of their descendant Bella b. Moh'ammed, living today."

175 Thus the old egalitarian rule, presiding over the division of
174 plunder, with the allotment of conquered lands, reacts each time
619 that it /86/ can against the individuation of the law and the mobilization of the soil. A persistent legitimacy, which spans brutal evictions and contractual dispossessions, refers, after

[Ait Gasa]
[Ait Lh'sen]

/*86 cont.*/
175 centuries, to the law of the a. Gasa. And the latter were per-
174 haps finally defeated only because they had disregarded the
619 legitimacy of this land.

The Achievement of the Ait Lh'sen

173 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the orig-
619 inal source./ The a. Lh'sen are Tekna, originally from the Oued Noun /Uad Nun/. They belonged to the Azwâfid', mythical descendants of the eponym ᶜuthmân b. Menda, Almoravide caliph of ᶜAbd Allah b. Yâsîn. Note that there are still some a. Lh'sen among the Tekna. The Tekna, moreover, are Iguzulen, which corresponds to what the a. Lh'sen are: the only Imsifern of the Seksawa (1).

1. V. Monteil, *Notes sur les Tekna* /Notes on the Tekna/, 1948, p. 13; Justinard, *op. laud.*, at n. 2, p. 68.

La Chapelle (2)

2. In his remarkable Exploration inédite /unpublished Exploration/.

mentions another origin, perhaps, however, intermediate: the a. Lh'sen u. Brahim of the South versant (above Talekjunt and the Mentaga). According to local tradition, the a. Lh'sen would have descended from one Musa, who had two sons: Daud and
619 Mençur.
634 This bipartite classification still functions in the matter of
cojuratio. The unity of the a. Lh'sen is great. Their purity,
[776] guaranteed by their patron Sidi Ah'med u Ali, they say, is ex-
treme. Also the rules for the distribution of land are imposed
[181] here with a particular vigor. The whole ensemble is still young,
vigorous, conquering. It is divided as follows:

[Ait Lh'sen]

/86 cont./

It A is divided as follows:

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Traditional ancestor	Subgroups	Ikhs	Villages
Musa.	a. Mençur.	a. Sâid.	Awines, Ighilan, Butaghradin.
		a. u Chelh'.	Agadir.
		a. Naçer.	—
		a. Amer.	Awines.
		a. Bnniya.	Iwulla, Tug u Lkheyr.
		a. Mulid.	Iwulla.
		Ikhwawn.	Iwulla, Wanzid'.
		a. Mh'and u Bujmâ.	Tabradjut.
		a. Lechger.	Tamesdakht.
		a. u Zarra.	—
		a. u Mâli.	Awines.
		a. u Sus.	Awines.
	a. Daud.	a. H'ammô Ali.	Agadir, Ighilan.
		u. H'ammô.	Ighilan.
		a. u Addam.	—
		a. Skiwt.	—

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[172]

/87/ The a. Lh'sen conquest takes place in several phases. First, they occupy an agadir, the ruins of which still exist in a. Mh'nd. Then, they invade the high canton of Iwulla, separated from the Idaw Mh'mud by a ridge of 3,000 meters. They complete this occupation by that of Wanz'id'. All snatched from the Demsira. The legend renders well the epic cruelty of these struggles.

/The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ At this time the a. Lh'sen were occupying only Iwulla. One of them had married a Demsira woman from Wanz'id'. His father-in-law asked him for several beams in order to construct a terrace. His son-in-law carried them to him up to the col that separates the Iwulla from Wanz'id'; the Demsira man then proclaimed that his demand only had the aim of humiliating an a. Lh'sen. The son-in-law said nothing, but called for a general invitation of the Demsira to Iwulla, a tiwilt, "banquet-palaver."

A, [i.e., the Ait Lh'sen--Analyst]

[Ait Lh'sen]

/87 cont./

173 619 The guns of the guests, confidently put down at home, each had oil in the barrel. In the middle of the feast, the a. Lh'sen began to massacre the Demsira. The latter, taking refuge at the home of the son-in-law, were not able to use their guns, and the son-in-law helped to get rid of them completely, including his father-in-law. The group spirit was stronger than the nasab spirit for him: that is the meaning of the anecdote.

174 619 [613] [172] [312] From the Iwulla-Wanz'id' ensemble, the a. Lh'sen continue their expansion. First over the Demsira. There still exists a Demsira ikhs in the present a. Mh'nd, as well as traces of an old séguia that put this village in communication with Iwulla. Trace of an old solidarity. At what approximate epoch did the second leap of the conquest take place? We find an indication perhaps in the fact that the a. Lh'sen remaining in Iwulla had sidi Bubker u Sʿaid of the Mez'ud'a as patron, whereas those who emigrated into the low valley had as patron the grandson, sidi Ah'med u ʿAli. This time lag of two generations doubtlessly marks an echeloning in the constitution of the domain. That is to say, respectively, beginning and middle of the eighteenth century. That would roughly correspond to the indication that the first extension was made eleven generations ago. Let us take these approximations for what they are worth. One cannot claim more in the present state.

The second extension carries the a. Lh'sen to the highlands of Ibuban, which will then be retroceded by sale to the present occupants, unless they had thus been returned to the people found on the spot. Let us note, however, that the emigration of the a. Irz'z'i is better placed in the first hypothesis (beginning of the eighteenth century). This former population first occupied a village slightly above Ad'erd'ur of the Idma. First massacred /88/ by the people of Tasa (at Amerdul, people point out the site of a hecatomb, called Az'mu n-a. Irz'z'i), they were then driven from their habitat, overwhelmed by the precipitation of large rocks, which predisposed them to call it ominous, and obliged to take refuge in Ibuban. It is possible that they then asked for and

/88 cont./

174 bought their settlement from the a. Lh'sen, who had just con-
619 quered their irrigated ground.

This ground, which remains separated from the first canton occupied by some mixed populations (Demsira, Idaw Semlal, and others, constituting the present Sekrat), was completely wrested from the Demsira by the usual methods. The latter twisted back first to Uchfili, then to the agadir n-Tizumyan n-Tlborjt. This village was so large that it contained simultaneously series of homonyms of 100 persons. Such excess invited bad luck. There soon remained for them no more than the lower valley, where the a. Lh'sen pushed them farther and farther downstream, with the alliance of an old population, the Ih'erdach, who are then found at Tamzedakht and Agawz.

/The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ But here is how the alliance ended. On the occasion of a ceremony undoubtedly matrimonial between a. Lh'sen youths and Ih'erdach girls, right in the middle of the tiwilt, the a. Lh'sen leaped to their arms and massacred the Ih'erdach. The wadi was scurfed with blood. A Negress discovered it and gave
[176] the alarm. That day a saint was born, sidi Âbderrah'man u Messâud. The Ih'erdach thus lost Tabratjut. The bourg was taken by force by a new Aymerillot, the valiant Mh'and u Bujmâ, accompanied by his seven sons: he had been promised it in appanage, provided that he seize it. This he did!

The Ih'erdach subsequently died out at Iferwan, a high place where a small sanctuary of sidi Âbderrah'man is still seen on a peak that appears on the left as one reascends the torrent.

What was eliminated here was not only the Demsira occupant, but also the legitimate owner and the ally. The a. Lh'sen displayed an unnecessary cruelty. It completed their bellicose type. But that is going to pose a problem of purification. The place of the tiwilt is still sinister. The harvests never prosper
[172] there: the saint thus decided on it. Is it for this reason that ruined terraces are still seen on the left bank of the torrent? This

[Ait Lh'sen]

/88 cont./

174 is one Tagund'aft, from which the famous Gund'afa came (1).

619

1. Origin naturally spurned by the latter.

There is also a mound of pebbles, the Rrud'a n-sidi Ah'med u Âli. It is undoubtedly the relic of a lustration. A great saint became /89/ guarantor and patron of the a. Lh'sen. Without his intervention, their crime would not have been pardoned for them. Thus they prosper. From their terrible history, they have preserved only a military tradition and pride in their past. They are found in recent times supporting the ambition of a great chief. [776]

[423] The ground won from the Demsira was allotted among ikhs-s, and traces of this distribution exist today, to the point of presenting nice symmetries. But the lands were not only won by force. Concurrently, they were bought up from the legitimate owners, and numerous documents referring to the ethnic Demsiri are still exhibited in the proceedings between a. Lh'sen and even a. Âbdella. Military prize? granted, but juridical regularization. Violence? granted, but legitimacy. Thus is renewed, across the bloody adventure of men, the mysterious accord of the soil and its peasants.

The Stage of Arrival

121 124 For the contemporary period, we mean since the beginning of the twentieth century, we simultaneously have at our disposal local witnesses, who put the research in continuity with the oldest tradition, and foreign and critical witnesses: our observers. Now one thing strikes the latter upon their arrival in the country: the existence of "great caids," like the Mtuggi, and of candidate great caids, like several mountain chiefs. Are they right in attributing such importance to them -- from a scientific viewpoint, of course -- and to put in the foreground the contest between these personal powers and the democratic institution? [631]

Intermittences of Personal Power

173 For this contest was nothing new. The tradition of the Haut Atlas /High Atlas/ preserves numerous lists of chiefs, from which

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114 /footnote 1 continued/ mountains, La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II /The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean world at the time of Philip II/, 1949, pp. 5 sq.

182 three relations characterize the economy of these rural societies. First the composition of their natural cadre: a mountainous basin opening on the plain; then the artificial circulation of their waters from ground to ground; finally, the hibernal movement of their herds.

The Plain-Mountain Relation

121 This first relation, well known in human geography, can we put it here as one usually does, that is to say, in terms of complementarity? Needs and products of the mountain would find their counterpart in those of the plain. Stock-raising and horticulture versus cereal cultivation. But it would then be necessary to agree that, beside so many traits of an already mature and diverse life of exchanges, others exist for the Atlas, and not the least ones, whose archaism and apparent absurdity belie this fine division of labor. For example, the onerous cultivations of barley on benches, a paradox for the economist, who compares their net cost with their use value. Therefore a complementarity is far from taking account of all aspects. Notably two which express another, truly Maghrebi fact: the contrast between a quasi-insular life of the cantons and an intense and relatively well-equipped economic circulation.

619 It is true that tradition joins to the montagnard entity a piedmont entity: this band of the Dir, which in the zone that concerns us, Mez'ud'a, Dwiran, Seksawa, Nfifa, and -- perhaps improperly -- Mtugga, prevails immediately at the North base of the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 139]

619 /101/ chain. This feeling has its price. It is not unimportant
that old Makhzen /makhzan/ protocol classes all these tribes, or
at least those with which it is familiar, as "people of the Dir"
[443] (Diyyâr). But observation of a market such as Imintanout orients
619 the research differently. The principal bulk of the exchanges is
438 made less between the two terms of the plain-mountain pair than
439 between the plain-mountain pair and the great South on the one
side, Marrakech on the other (1).

[114] 1. That comes out in the evidence of the inquiry conducted on the spot, in the spring of 1952, by MM. Adam, Trystram, Granai, and several other researchers.

Imintanout is the relay toward the Haouz in a system in which
464 Goulimine is the relay toward Mauritania. Besides, like the Sous,
the Atlas is a great provider of seasonal or permanent manual
166 labor. A mass of wages and savings irrigates the country. The
167 amplitude of this movement extends toward the N. up to the large
towns of the coast. It goes far beyond the simple solidarities of
Dir. It enlarges the economic and human cadre up to limits
which, today at least, go beyond Morocco and even the Métropole.

121 The relation of the plain and the mountain is thus irreducible
619 to a simplistic dialogue. One divines a thousand connections that
bind the partners, not solely between them, but the two of them to
a world singularly larger than the picturesque isolation of the high
cantons might make one presume. By degrees, it is the whole external articulation of a seemingly closed system that one is led to
174 examine. Now, beyond some historical indications, in part conjectural, we have at our disposal for such an examination only
extrapolations from the present. The method is risky. Two precise elements nevertheless at the very least authorize the investigation. They are none other than those of the daily food: and, because of that, concrete and, in a certain measure, durable.

/102 cont./
243 justified. In case of a blockade, barley and maize always ensure
a minimum difficult to appraise, but consistent. The great
243 families of the past, insofar as one remembers them, tended to
173 a certain autarchy. The others produced in cereals a proportion
433 going, according to the affluence of the land, from a quarter to
a third of the needs. Such is still the actual state: one can form an
243 idea of it from the volume of family purchases at the souqs of the
43 Dir or, still more instructively, from those of the col at Timezgadiwin
221 or Argana. The first trimester following a normal harvest
is not in deficit. From the middle of the agricultural year, all,
except the great ones, depend upon the outside. Market gardening,
244 it is true, adds a substantial contribution. Especially the
245 turnip; accessorily the carrot, the gourd. And even more the
433 fruits: walnuts, almonds, olives, simultaneously or separately,
[146] depending on the altitude. The value in calories produced per
unit of surface of these last cultivations greatly exceeds that of the
cereals. The equivalences which one could thus establish would
expand notably the agricultural space of populations whose picturesque
escarpments, viewed from a little too far, seem to reduce
to a permanent scarcity. There would indeed be some ideas to
revise on that.

166 Finally, it is necessary to take account of the emigration,
167 which removes, as one knows, a noticeable proportion of consumers,
at the same time that it transforms them into importers
of "devises" /currency/, and this latter term is surely not
out of place, for these relations stand out in international exchange.
As old as they appear, they depend on the political conjuncture
619 and are subject /103/ to variation. A comparison that
648 comes to mind and which is prompted by the very appearance of
the country, with its cliff hanging over the plain, is fishing.
Everything happens as if the relations with the plain were those of
a coast people, be it with the littoral waters, and there we have
the Dir relations properly speaking -- be it with faraway seas: the
emigration. Coastal fishing and high-seas fishing, on the one
hand, international relations around the border markets and intermediate
places such as Imintanout on the other hand:

/103 cont./

619 metaphoric as it may be, this comparison nevertheless contains
648 its share of truth.

But the natural forces in themselves alone would fail to account for such exchanges. Reserving the historical problem of emigration, let us then apply ourselves to another problem, more particularly of the coast, if one wishes. It is the one to which these successive eliminations led, as to the essential and to the most permanent of those that the relation between the plain and
[241] the mountain poses. It is that of the correlations that are established between the mountain and the plain, when the montagnard has his tillage in the plain.

241 In the two neighboring groups, Dwiran and Mez'ud'a, the agricultural life as well as the habitat are divided very precisely between the plain and the mountain, lud'a and adrar. A well-
221 organized correspondence links portions of the plain to the moun-
619 tain villages through a tight network of seasonal going and coming, of work, and of complementary productions. Hence, within
[171] these two tribes, something analogous to the "remue" /moving/ so characteristic of the life of the Alps or the Pyrenees (1).

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1. J. Blache, L'homme et la montagne /Man and the mountain/, 1933, pp. 17 sq.; R. Capot-Rey, Géographie de la circulation sur les continents /The geography of the circulation on the continents/, 1946, p. 58.

178 In olden times, in Mez'ud'a, for example, the division of land in
241 the plain reproduced the political map of the mountain. Each
221 village of the plateau or of the high valleys extended a perimeter of cultivation into the plain. But one hardly stayed down below.
[343] It was to the shelter of the escarpments and often in fortified
[712] granaries or agadir-s that the peasants sheltered the harvest. The peace changed all that, and today one observes a double habitat (2).

[171] 2. Likewise the transhumance of the Anniviards led them to possess several habitations or villages,

/106 cont./

312 Political, because in this country of concentrated life, the
648 séguia is sometimes intertribal, often intercantonal, and almost
619 always intervillage. The intake of the séguias serving the Dwiran
(634) and the Ud Bessebâ^c is found in a. Âbdella, at least for most of
(628) them. The relations with the Ud Bessebâ^c, an Arab tribe of turbulent character, were aleatory, and, long before the Protectorate, one is already at official regulation of them. "The users of the Wâdî'l-Qîhra and the Ud Bessebâ^c being" -- said a dahir of 1285 Heg.: 1868 -- "found in disagreement, I order that one fifth be reserved for the Ud. Bessebâ^c, the rest being left to the former." On that point at least, the old order was dead: the
631 prince had to intervene. Not far away, this was the case between
312 Mez'ud'a and Gedmiwa. But not between Seksawa and Dwiran.
619 Between these two groups, the relations for the water are governed
even today, not only by fixed agreements, but by the "tours de faveur" /turns of favor/, discretionary in appearance, equal in fact on both sides. For the a. Musa depend on the good will of Taddert in Dwiran. The lower Dwiran depends, just for drinking, on that of the a. Âbdella. The solidarity, therefore, is not that of the cantons, but of the tribes.

133 The current of the river dries up downstream from Z'init' during all the summer months. It reappears only in more and more intermittent fashion as one goes toward the plain. It is true that some small perennial sources murmur here and there on the banks, and that the bed itself lets waters spring up more or less continually, which attest to a subterranean circulation and even, on the side of Lekhneg, stagnate lazily under the laurels and the /107/ tillirin (1).

1. Inula viscosa.

312 But the width of the bed, its permeability, which vast banks of sand and gravel, ikrirs (a. Âbdella), or ikri (middle Seksawa), indicate, no longer permit, from a certain date, a profitable, let us say, progress of the water. It is thus higher and higher upstream, as the dryness becomes accentuated, that plains irrigation will go to seek its blessing, and that by artificial conduits: the

/119 cont./
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fluvial basin into secondary units, the cantons, thus corresponds to both a logical classification and to a physical division of landscape (1).

[171]

1. Similarly, in the Pyrenees, the political state is formed, down to its subdivisions, "vicq," "locq," "cuart," "voisinages," by the relation between plain and mountain and the articulations of the relief (M. Sorre, Les Pyrénées, 1922, p. 73 sq., and, for Andorra, J.-A. Brutails, Études sur la condition des populations rurales du Roussillon au Moyen Age /Studies on the condition of the rural populations of Roussillon in the Middle Ages/, 1891, pp. 263 sq.).

Whence the profound insularity of the taqbilt, sunk into its hollow in the rocks and having only its torrent as vivifying artery to link it to the main valley and, from there, to the outside world.

184 But is this isolation a basic given, or a result? Does its picturesque reality not hide the fundamental relations that unite it with other parts of the system? The history of the Seksawa went toward a reply on that, which the present facts confirm. What is essential in this life is precisely that it surpasses any cantonal fragmentation. The attraction of the plain, the circulation of the channelized water, the movement of the flocks are only three signs, images of exchanges that link men and places beyond the narrow barriers.

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One is thus led anew to the hypothesis according to which the Seksawa would today be only a mutilated system. Their present division into valley sections would only correspond to secondary necessities. The correspondences between high and low country that their Mez'ud'a and Dwiran neighbors have been able to maintain in their political and landed-property structure result doubtlessly from better preservation. Or rather, the present cutting-up of the Seksawa and their elimination from the plain

/119 cont./
121 do not reflect any authenticity, but, in a certain measure, the
619 event. This asymmetry which sets them against the neighboring
634 groups indicates the blows received /120/ at the time of a phase
of participation in the great history. More fortunate than their Hintata neighbors, who lost their tribal existence there, even to their name, the Seksawa have thus suffered from the common law, so oppressive to the actors of the Maghrebi Middle Ages. For them, the ransom was not to disappear, but to submit to this montagnard cantonment. They have nevertheless maintained themselves there, opposing the forces of disaggregation with other forces, which this analysis will try to disclose.

Still today, their emigration, their hydraulics, their live-
648 stock-raising reveal lines of movement which manifest the plain-
619 mountain relation in full vitality: Mediterranean-type relation.
133 Now, notably in its plant forms, their country, like the rest of
[571] the Haut-Atlas, constitutes in many respects a Mediterranean re-
[137] minder. Vox clamantis in deserto: at the foot of the chain,
here already is the desert spot of Chichaoua, with its yellowish and pebbly lands, its poor pluviometry, and its populations of Saharan look.

174 Of course, it would be far too schematic to suppose that in
648 this secular drama the people of the plain, Mérinides and Arabs,
have, by military force and cultural seduction, driven back and dissociated a former Mediterranean relation. There is certainly danger in such simplifications. But since thus are illuminated the past of the Seksawa, its archeological remains, and, upon reaching the middle of the twentieth century, the instinctive attempts at regrouping that they still put up against the wounds of history (1) . . .

1. Here we are again led back to history: F. Braudel, op. laud., p. 38, n. 1, regrets that the study of transhumance on the periphery of the Mediterranean has not been carried out sufficiently on the historical plane.

/135 cont./
241 let us note, any special denomination. The term anflus has
796 fallen into disuse. One is called only bab llkhir, that is to say,
gifted with a "good hand"; and, further, this power is expressed
by paraphrases: ifulki kh-tyuga, "he is good at cultivation,"
241 etc. This verbal haziness is perhaps, but not certainly, a trait
796 of decadence. However that may be, here are the results of an
619 enumeration that was meant to be exhaustive. /The following
634 enumeration, through 12, appears in small type in the original
184 source./

1. Idaw Geryun:

Village of Targa Ufella (the last before the ascent of the
Tichka): all the inhabitants are descended from a single origin,
the old a. Châib. It is perhaps for that reason that there is no
[525] discrimination among them. Drawing lots to inaugurate the ir-
[782] rigations. On the first Saturday in May, a black goat is carried
[782] to a certain rock in the mountains and sacrificed. If the blood
[787] runs, the omen is good.

At Ighelmellen, the Ih'muchcha, surviving family of the
Iqorran, first occupants, inaugurate the irrigation and the moun-
[782] tain pastures. Propitiatory libations, called ifyed'.

Rektu'wasif: the a. Âbdelkrim have the initium for water.

Zaouia of Sidi Lh'sen u Tiqqi: these are the a. Umetjar.

Ikis: general initium (and not only for water) of the a. Uâziz.

2. Ait Wasif (a. H'adduyws):

Igersafen: a. Sâid.

a. Zemlal: a. Umetjar.

a. Bah'mmo and Uzaga: the a. Th'emjit enjoy a general
[784] initium, attributed to the ancestor Amer u H'addo. Period re-
puted to be unfavorable: Lmunah'is or Ih'h'yalen, and the
lqâleb: one does not shave, one does not till, one is in mourning.

/136/ 2 /sic/. Tasa (ditto):

Villages of Fensu and Tasa: the a. Ggahi have the initium
for water, are in charge of the ifyed': same interdiction as
[784] above. In addition, during this period, one cannot wash the
linen. The a. Umghar: initium for war.

/136 cont./

241 4. Idma:

79c The a. Ilarzg of Usikis have the initium for putting water in
619 the ditches. The Iseqqalen abstain from all enterprises on Mon-
634 day: one time when they intended to climb to Agersili on this
day some of their girls died. The a. Ikru of Ad'erd'ur and of
184 Wanchkrir open the tillage. Here is why. For six years the Idma
[613] had remained without rain; others say seven years. The ikhs-s
took turns watching for clouds on the horizon. When it was the
turn of the a. Ikru, rain fell, to the general delight. Whence the
present practice. The ikhs-s that open the tillage in the other
villages are: for Usikis, the a. Ilarzg; for Taselli, the a. Lh'sen.

5. In Imt'ddan, the a. Uchikar open the tillage and put water in the ditches. The ait Ubaqa slaughter the cow of Lalla Aziza.

6. In ait Mh'hd, the a. Bakhkha open the tillage.

7. In ait Musa, no qualification of this sort.

8. Ait Lh'sen:

[782] Wanz'id'. Tillage: a. H'sayn; irrigations: sacrifice to sidi Lwâli on the first Friday in March; harvest: a. Mulid; war: a. Berka.

Buteghradin. Tillage: 1. a. Messâud (Sunday); irrigations ditto; harvest: ditto.

[541] On the morning of the yenneyr, battle between ikhs-s by
[613] blows with clusters of nettles.

Agadir. Tillage: a. Naçr (Sunday); harvest (ditto); irriga-
tion: a. Hammo; jumps into the fire the night of amâchur.
[541] Battle by blows with clusters of nettles.

Awinas. Tillage: a. Amar; harvest ditto; irrigation, a.
[578] Umâli. Aspersions between ikhs-s on the morning of amâchur;
[262] dinner of porridge the night of the innair.
[613] Ighilen. Tillage: a. Messâud (Sunday); harvest: ditto; irrigation: a. Lechger. Same custom as above.

Tabratjut. Tillage: a. Mençur (Sunday); harvest ditto; ir-
[578] rigation: a. Ufqir Lh'sen. Custom of aspersions on the morning
[262] of the amâchur and of the porridge the night of the Yenneyr;
battle by blows with clumps of grass.
[541]

/136 cont./

241 9. Ibuban:

796 Amasin. Tillage: a. Addi u Lh'sen (Sunday); irrigation:
619 ditto; harvest: ditto; war: ditto.

634 Talburt i-yggayzen. Tillage: a. Wakrim Uâli; harvest from the remise of the "Friday" for sidi Mh'and.

184 Tugg Lkhayr. Tillage: a. Bumellut (Sunday); irrigations: a. Bihi u Addi; harvest: a. Bihi u Addi.

Timskert. Tillage: a. Ali Wakrim; irrigation ditto; harvest: a. Lh'sen Wakrim and a. Âli Wakrim; war: ditto.

[782] 10. Iguntar. Tillage: a. Lâsri (Sunday); irrigation: sacrifice to sidi Mh'nd; harvest: a. Lâsri, war: Ineqqachen.

/137/ 11. Sekrat:

Amsgerdat. Tillage: a. Urjdal (Sunday); irrigation: a. Wârab. Custom of the porridge. Harvest: a. Wârab. Custom of the amâchur; no linen washed, penitence.

F-umazir. Tillage: a. H'emmo (Sunday); harvest: a. Çalh'; irrigation: ditto. Custom of amâchur as above, for the a. Çalh' only.

[783] Tagddut. Tillage: a. Bihi (Sunday); harvest: a. u Lârj (Sunday); irrigations: a. Ukhezzaz; penitence: on the day of amâchur for the a. Bihi.

[783] Tigumma n-Skrat. Tillage: a. Musa (Sunday); harvest: a. Warir (Sunday); irrigation: ditto. Custom of amâchur, penitence of the a. u Musa.

[613] 12. Ait Âbdella. This taqbilt, important in size, wealth, habitat, and numerous in its ikhs-s, does not acknowledge the initium in agricultural matters for any of the latter. Only the a. Wanz'id', descendants of sidi Musa, the saint of the high mountains, bestow good augury in the matter of military expeditions.

121 241 796 A question is posed first of all as to the generality of these practices: a generality in which the nature of the account that ethnographers give concerning them and maybe also the very fashion in which the local informants describe them would lead one to believe. Secondly, what character should one ascribe to them: sacred or profane? A difficult distinction which only a

[Ait Mh'nd]

/178 cont./

634 that was reflected up to the last times of siba /revolt/ in the
613 political rivalry between the two original ikhs-s: a. Umghar and
173 a. Bakhkha. The former was traditionally devoted to municipal
669 preponderance. The latter, to the agricultural initium. Neutral,
the ikhs of the Imzilen provided conciliators: it was again asked
recently, by a tumultuary election, for a customary judge. The
a. Lamin started the war. The ait Umghar, having formed an
alliance with the Idma and their emerging dynasty, the a. Ânunu,
consolidated their own power and ensured the advantage to the
amghar Âbdesslam b. Âbdelmalek, father of the present chief.

634 Today, the a. Mh'nd include 120 foyers, to which it is
619 proper to add 44 emigrant ones, more or less settled outside.
592 These figures, at the time of the 1929 investigation, were respec-
162 tively 100 and 13 hearths. Progression of 1/5 in 20 years.

/179/ An Archaic Emigration

166 This emigration is an ancient phenomenon. The travelers
167 establish residence in the country of their choice, but keep their
lands in their native country. They are seen again at harvest
time. In April, 1951, a force of 60 men, that is, one from every
two foyers, descended into the plain for the harvest. On the
other hand, a worker emigration is still unknown.

About a third of the a. Mh'nd have settled outside of the
[177] Seksawa. This phenomenon, of ancient type, and not yet in-
fluenced by the industrial thrust of Morocco, doubtlessly has a
certain documentary value. Among these emigrant foyers one
counts: 1 settled in Marrakech, 4 in Casablanca, 3 at Imintanout,
3 at Agadir Inflas (Dwiran), 8 in ait Âbdella, 2 at Ghdir Bnan, 4
in Ud Didan, 3 in Ud Mumna, 4 at Lalla^{c}Ariba, 1 in Ud Sawla
(Ud Bessebâ^{c}), 10 at Tafttacht (Chyâd'ma), 1 in ait ^{c}Aliwach
(Mjjat'). That is, all departed toward the north.

It seemed interesting to find again in the plain, where they are within direct reach of the investigation, some of these temporary or definitive emigrants.

166 Brahim u H'ammo n-a. Umzil (60 years old), although living
159 at Agadir Inflas (Dwiran), still has all his relatives in a. Mh'nd.

[Agersili]

/190 cont./

241 133 Agersili, with its terraces descending over some 80 ha., is the most beautiful and, all allowances being made, the most colossal example of crops in tiers in this part of the Atlas. On the two faces of a ravine, the system extends over three kilometers. We shall command a better view of it by backing up to the flank of the Tabgurt, on the side of the small intermittent source called Talàt wuz'ma. From here our view plunges into the axis. Toward the N.-E., on the right, there appears to us a limestone peak pointing like an arrow to the Agadir waleggu. In the background, the dome of the Tindri, which commands Ikis. [361] On the right bank of the small valley, two villages of dry stone, Agerd'ayan, the more important, and Twurirt. What is striking in the crops at first glance is the alternation of colors, which the rotation of the soles brings about, according to the season.

311 312 The ground is divided into quarters, each corresponding to a principal intake, açder, on each of the 11 channels, that is, from upstream to downstream: targa n-Talburt, y-imi n-tanut, ddu wg^{w}erd'an, umalu y-imi y-iz'ma, wannammeran on the right bank; n-tghuni, n-tsila, y-Irzzi, w-wammas, wanammer, y-imi y-iz'ma on the left bank.

634 613 423 619 This irrigated ground, about 40 ha., belongs to the Idma. A first analysis registers their subdivision into six great ikhs-s. But, although these six names are also found within the limits of the other bourgs, in general there is specialization of submultiples of ikhs, if one wishes, among these different sectors. Here, it is essentially the people of Usikis who cultivate, at the same time as lower, on the deep terraces of the village (a staircase with 200 steps), and at Imi^{W}Usikis and Tighwla in the main valley. The ensemble of these four grounds constitutes the /191/ irrigated part of the bounds of Usikis. The lion's share. At Agersili, for example, among the representatives of the great ikhs of the Iseqqalen, we distinguish: a. Lh'ajj, a. Warh'man, a. Zbayr, a. Unejjar; among those of the great ikhs of the a. Mh'nd u. Abdallah appear the Ih'chtrag, the a. bu Mh'nd, the a. Berka; among the a. Harzg the a. Berchman and the a. Lehri. Other subbranches will appear at Ad'erd'ur, Wanchkrir, or Tanssmekht.

[Agersili]

/191 cont./

634 This specialization by sectors seems to be a corollary of the
619 amplification of the group. It is complementary to another rule
613 ordering the equilibrium of the group on the space that it oc-
cupies, by the minute samplings. Thus it is that the Idma are
divided into five branches. They themselves are divided into 33
ikhs-s, two of which now extinct. The average size of an ikhs
[162] can thus be estimated at 13 houses, 15; 5 foyers, 67; 74 per-
sons. Of these five branches, four are represented at Usikis,
three at Ad'erd'ur. Two seem to be concentrated particularly in
one village, for example, Tasselli or Ad'erd'ur. Among the
ikhs-s themselves, two are represented in several villages. One,
the Iseqqalen, is represented everywhere. It is evidently the
dominant group.

A harmony, obeying simple laws of balanced representation, is thus recognized in the composition that prevails between the Idma and their country. But an even more refined harmony prevails in the distribution of the grounds. How, in the case of Agersili, the division of the ground into quarters is combined with that of the group into ikhs-s: this is what will stand out from the table on the following page. /See p. 269./

Comments on the Table

613 This table with its figures was drawn up by myself, following
423 numerous cross-checkings on the spot, one of which was made in
242 August, 1950, in the presence of J. Dresch. It is confirmed in
312 large part by another table, this one figurative, drawn up by a
[126] scholar from Ad'erd'ur. The native figure is based, no longer on
the division by quarters, but on the service by ditches. As the
quarter here has a technical definition, that is, of being served
by one main sluice, the result comes out the same. Nevertheless
a fluctuation in the number of parcels: 3,546 according to the
first method, 3,670 according to the second one. A coefficient
of incertitude of some 4% is negligible. Thus let us study the
principal traits that flow from this ensemble of indices, calcula-
ble, one sees, with sufficient exactitude.

[Taqennurt]

/216 cont./
613 vicissitudes and against all outside interventions: in the case in
423 point, six centuries of powers of the plain, in open struggle
241 against the montagnard system..

c) The confines: Lh'emri, Inzzũyma

619 Downstream from Taqennurt, the Seksawa bounds are prompt-
131 ly limited by those of the Dwiran. A terrain quite poorly irrigated today, Lh'emri, having become more or less the appanage of the local chiefs, terminates them. Higher, it is the hillocks of Inzzũyma, common to the W. with the Nfifa. Here therefore we are in a zone of confines.

175 The middle Seksawa valley was formerly occupied by the
Demsira. This was not the case for Bul^{c}wân, the landed traditions
619 of which go back to some Ida u Blal. It is the former who were replaced farther downstream by the Ud Bessebâ^c, whose first hamlet bears a significant name, Ad'uwar. The Arabic "douar," in contrast to the "village" of the Chleuh /Shluh/. All of this sector was devastated by struggles between tribes. Also, it was intercessors from the Seksawa valley, Ammern "marabouts" in particular, whom it behooved initially to swarm in from this side in order to bar the route to strangers. At Ad'uwar the Talh'archt and Tasbâit channels meet: this is a knot of waterways toward the plain.

Here one is in the domain of decadent, "shattered" history. A large portion of the Lh'emri today is domainal, and rented, at a rate of principle, to the *amghar*-s of the a. Abdella. Let us understand that this was a *no man's land* /the italics are in English in the original source/, theater of competitions of tribes, and of the expansion of the appanages. It is not there that one should look for a rural order.

133 To the E., toward Imintanout, a bulge of terrain sinks in
/217/ a triangle between the valleys of the *asif*-s Seksawa and
Imintanout. That would appear quite clearly to one who climbs
423 the slope of the Urkus. It is a matter of the ground of the Inz-
619 zũyma equally claimed by the a. Abdella and the neighboring
[657] Nfifa. The administration has consolidated and almost balanced

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[423]
[657]

/217 cont./

these rival claims by conferring on this vast landed-estate a collective status which divides it between the two tribes.

According to certain traditions recorded in a. Lh'sen, this collective should return entirely to the Seksawa, and its assignment at all to the a. Abdella would arise from one of these errors based on the perspective of contiguity, and such as we have often committed in North Africa, in Algeria for example, in the application procedures of the Sénatus Consulte of 1863.

The question was important, because if we had again found in the Inzzūyma traces of a property-owner's vocation for the ensemble of the Seksawa "fractions," our hypothesis on the former landed projection of the tribe toward the plain would have been singularly reinforced by it. It was a matter, in sum, of a study of archeological indications launched a little blindly. Here
243 are the results of this study. The following table groups the areas,
619 in measures of seeds, ^{c}abra-s, of the different population groups
433 cultivating the Inzzūyma. There will result from it conclusions
184 for the moment negative. No regularity of distribution: a coun-
648 try worn, devastated by history. But a plurality of usufructuary groups: perhaps a remote reminder...

a) Part for the a. Imintanut (Nfifa)

	Nfifa of Imintanout	Other Nfifa	Demsira	Seksawa	People of the Sous	Ud Besseba^c	Chichaoua	Mtugga	Mez'ud'a	Dwiran	People of Argana	People of Amizmiz	
Barley.....	4,047	6	112	153	236	235	3	25	12	0	26	17	4,872
Hard wheat	592	1	33	17	27	6	0	4	0	0	5	4	689
Soft wheat	163	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	4	1	171
Totals...	4,802	7	145	170	266	241	3	29	12	0	35	22	5,732

/217 cont./

b) Part for the a. Abdella (Seksawa)

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	a. Abdella	a. Lah' sen	a. H'adduyws.	Idma	Sous	Nfifa	
Barley....	3,064	19	6	83	29	15	3,216
Hard wheat	276	0	1	13	0	0	290
Soft wheat.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Totals...	3,340	19	7	96	29	15	3,506

N.B. The evaluations are made in ^{c}abra-s of seed, that is, for barley, approximately a quarter of a hectare each.

/218/

V. Consistency, Limits, and Import of an Agrarian Order

A Research Hypothesis

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R. Montagne relates (1)

1. R. Montagne, "Les leff-s berbères au début du XVIII^{e} siècle chez les Masmouda /The Berber leffs at the beginning of the eighteenth century among the Masmouda/," Hesp., 1941, p. 93.

how, after many gropings, one day he conceived, in the Aghbar or the Ogdemt, the explanatory hypothesis for the leff-s. With A. Basset, he traversed these cantons for long days in search of clues on their political history. Facts accumulated, which no link seemed to connect together in the native consciousness: too inveterate, too "normal" for it to perceive laws or linkings there. And here is what flashes out among all these facts, an order that arranges them, justifies them. The past of the Haut Atlas /High Atlas/: propagation of chefferies /military districts/, tension between and within groups, conservative discord, anarchies balancing

[Demsira]

/219 cont./

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/footnote 2 continued/ des noms propres /For a collection of proper names/," *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'Afrique Noire*, 1950, p. 535; A. Roux, "Quelques remarques sur la formation des noms de tribus chez les berbérophones du Maroc /Some comments on the formation of names of tribes among the Berberophones of Morocco/," *Actes et Mémoires du III^{e} Congrès international de toponymie et d'anthroponymie*, Brussels, t. III, 1951, p. 485.

000
/The following section, including subsections on the Nfifa, Mtugga, and Mez'ud'a, except for the last paragraph, is in small type in the original source./ In form and color, the

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[634]
Demsira country resembles the Seksawa country, of which it forms the exterior boulevard, on the side of the route from the Sous. The tribe, thus exposed directly to the influences of an important path of invasion and passage, *agharas ugellid*, has suffered intensely, in its structures, from phases of order and from those of rebellion. It presents itself today as a string of cantons, stretched in the S.E.-N.W. direction, that of the route. The peak of the Bwibaun separates it from the Seksawa domain, into which, according to tradition, it formerly bit very deeply. Dispossessed of its conquests, it has even been amputated politically: its Iguntar are today subject to the a. Lh'sen. Thus it has suffered even more than the Seksawa from the action of the powers of the plain. Those of its cantons which, like the a. Chaîb and a. Bkhayr, have been able to escape through isolation have lived more shabbily than the Seksawa. The latter were protected, starting from their middle valley, by a relief in /220/ depth, a resistant hagiology, and probably a historical tradition: all things which are lacking in Demsira.

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[184]
This said concerning the resemblances and differences, the cross-checkings that have been brought to bear on this tribe have proved positive on a great number of points. Here are the principal ones:

[Demsira]
[Nfifa]

/220 cont./

613 and tools of the power of the plain, the Irohalen, region on a
423 slope, without good irrigation, Permo-Trias reddening, the landed property distributes the ten ikhs-s, including Tamarut marabouts, over the different grounds: for example, "the field of the King," Iger ugellid, a nice cereal piece at the junction of the routes from the Sous and the H'âh'a, Awrir-an and the rounded hill below Ddusyan, reputedly fertile for wheat. A system of rents compensates for the risks of drought or of a bad harvest. In sum, sector with an eventful constitution and history, which is organized to the best of its rather precarious nature, but visibly according to the lines observed in more intact grounds.

613 /221/ 4) A. Mh'and u Musa. Narrow affluent valley of the
312 asif i-ymintanut. Law notably cross-checked for the villages of
[133] Ergtajelt (9 quarters), Aghella (8), Bwiugra (11). The irrigation is always administered by ikhs, but unequally, the ikhs-s having unequal rights according to the quarters. Finally, the law is felt and formulated.

... Nfifa...

619 Tribe completely of the piedmont. Occupies, besides the
[131] outlet of the col on the plain (Imintanout), the lower valley of the Amejnes and a "mountain" which is the North reverse of the Lemgo, as well as a plain on the confines of the Mtugga.

619 1) In this latter domain was observed the working of the dis-
423 tribution of land. It is the taqbilt called Wad l-lbûr. Seven
[634] a^{c}z'âm form it, all allogeneous. Not one autochthon. One of them, the a. Âli Umbarek, has its crops grouped upstream, mixed with those of the a. Abdnnur, "people of the mountain." But the 6 others are impeccably represented in each quarter. Besides, they are the ones that are designated, excluding the former, by a collective name: a. i-ymiz'z'er. The conflict be-
[578] tween the rule of topographical distribution and possession, invoked by the a. Âli, who have all the crops massed around the source, gives rise to numerous clashes. In 1950 a transaction made allowances for things and combined the two systems to the

[Nfifa]
[Mtugga]

619 /221 cont./
423 general satisfaction. Another corollary verification. That in the irrigated ground.

2) Outside of this irrigated ground, curiously named Wad l-lbûr, that is, "the river of the dry crops," the *taqbilt* possesses a mamilliform country, making up part of the yellowish confines between Mtugga and Nfifa: grounds called Lmdayn, Berdami, Id'ergan, Amskennid', etc. The collective vocation is made known, as proof that appropriation has been made there, for each campaign, *s-lh'waz*, that is to say, by a race to be the first occupant, "by seizure." Marking with the plowshare is equal to appropriation for the year. In 1950 the depositing of a privative demand for registering led to formalizing this character. It was [634] the integrality of the *taqbilt* of Wad l-lbûr, including the "people of the mountain," that claimed its rights. The rival claim of the villages located in the very estate to monopolize it was finally rejected. It is an allotment by "foyers," *s-takatin*, that was decided upon, one zone being assigned on this basis to each village of the mountain or of the plain: an intermediate system, making allowance for all the *ikhs*-s and for their general vocation, and for their differences of size or of habitat.

Roughly, the country of Wad l-lbûr appears as though it had been initially cut up into three grounds, where each of the *ikhs*-s had its share. But their evolution has been divergent: privative appropriation for the mountain sector, persistent collective tenure for the plains ground, and classical distribution by quarters in the lower valley of the Amejnes.

/222/ ... Mtugga...

133 Complex structure. Two E.-W. synclinals frame what has been inexactly called the Mtugga plateau. In reality it is a calcareous bulge linked to the Atlasic surrection. But its surface, subjected to intense erosion, has become in many places a stony causse. It is cut by ravines, the junction of which, under the name of Igrunzar, forms the Wâd *Lqçob*. The latter flows into

[Mtugga]

/222 cont./

133 the sea near Mogador. It is its water that formerly irrigated the Sâadian sugar-cane plantations.

619 1) The importance of the "plateau" is essential. With the exception of the Reh'h'âla, aberrant, all the Mtugga khoms-s surround it and participate in its exploitation for pasturage, [634] gathering, or tillage. That is, in the direction of the hands of a watch, the following taqbilt-s: Idaw Merzug, Idaw Nifi, Kuzemt, Alassen, Idaw Talilt, Intamlin.

This schematic distributon, on the scale of the vast spaces of Mtugga life, nonetheless appears as a not negligible factor of economic and political equilibrium.

613 423 2) Kuzemt. The lands of dry tillage are owned by each of the ikhs-s, by means of agglomerated parcels approximately coinciding with the habitat. It is to be observed, moreover, that, following the H'âh'a mode, each ikhs lives apart. But the olive plantation contains, from the point of view of land, a representation of all the ikhs-s, and even those whose habitat is eccentric, like Iggi w-ugnan.

It is to be noted that most of the plantations are of the same age. The presence of all the ikhs-s in the olive plantation, does it correspond to a division subsequent to a collective task organized by an official occupant? That is what the imposing ruins, [172] called Dar l-lbacha, and which seem to go back to the makhzanian enterprises mentioned in the Rih'la of the marabout of Tasaft (Justinard tr., p. 18), would make one suppose.

Besides the olive plantation, the quarter of Iggi n-d'her, where a great number of irrigated parcels exist, includes a veritable sampling of all the ikhs-s of Kuzemt.

133 3) To the N.-E. of the Jebel Kharruba, symmetrically with the village of Tadnest in relation to these heights, the ground of the Zahr ou T'amer resembles a series of basins, separated by 173 rocky spurs. According to a tradition recorded by J. Fuchs, this was initially pasturage ground. Then different elements from Intamlin came to colonize it, without, for all that, abandoning their principal habitat.

/222 cont./

423 Although all sorts of mutations have affected the parts thus
revived, the collective qualification muchû^{c} is still applied to
the whole. On the other hand, and very significantly, although
[613] the first appropriation passes for having been done "by seizure,"
most of the ikhs-s of the Intamlin are still represented at Zahr
ou T'amer.

Same symmetry in the vast "collectives" constituting confines between Mtugga and Nfifa.

4) At the place called Adder, present site of the Wednesday
[443] market, and which seems to have formerly been more amply irrigated
by the source /223/ of Sidi bu Brahim, is observed a
veritable potpourri of owners belonging to diverse Mtugga subdivisions,
some of them very far away. Thus, analysis of the
[619] lands reveals there Idaw Merzug, Reh'h'âla, Idaw Talilt, and
[634] even some allogeneous Idaw Ziki and Mentaga.

Tradition applies the following saying to Adder: Adder:
[539] taryalt umzil: amesmar enna trit, gis t-tufit, "it is the blacksmith's
basket, no matter what nail you want, you find it there."
Only a more profound analysis could say if that is pure coincidence
or an accidental aggregate, resulting from external causes
like the existence of a thermal saint, or traces of systematic
distribution.

619 The genre of the Mtugga tribe is quite peculiar, as much
from the fact of its size as from the simultaneous play whose
spectacle it offers between a very resistant customary archaism
[121] and the latifundian expansion of the "great families." It would
be perilous to pursue these analogies in depth in a purely comparative
account, the goal of which is not to study their tribal
[671] contexture. May it suffice for us to have noted that, despite such
peculiarity, many emergences of the montagnard law can be revealed.
Those that have been noted here are far from being the
only ones.

[Mez'ud'a]

/223 cont./

... Mez'ud'a...

619 Same reservations, but also same conclusions. Among
184 them, the plain-mountain balance has been preserved up to our
day. The tribe presents a homogeneity, perhaps acquired dear-
ly, but which, its more modest proportions helping, rather makes
of it the form of unfolding of types that we find, on a more exig-
uous model, in Haut /Upper/ Seksawa, for example. The factor
[312] of originality here is the use of five large séguias from the asif
el-Mâl, and which condition the economic and political life of
at least the whole East part of the tribe.

631 1) A general study shows that, roughly, the Mez'ud'a plain is like the exposition and amplification of the political divisions of the mountains. Each of the latter projects its zone of ownership over a special sector. Whence constant coming and going, and today, and more and more, double habitat. This same fact is observable in the Dwiran. It has already struck our researchers.

613 423 178 2) What has remained unperceived is what degree of detail this agrarian order has reached. Despite the intense appropriation of the plain since the pacification, there remain cultivation communities where the vocation of each ikhs resists all evolutions. Again in 1950 a gentilitial distribution, in terms of the astonishingly ramified and hierarchized system that caps the ikhs-s here, was victoriously imposed, in spite of the privative vivifications, on the largest part of the Ighargharen ground coming back to the a. Gd'id'.

312 613 3) The functioning of the irrigation, a perfect clockwork mechanism, is governed, not by topographical proximity, but by group appurtenance. Whence what would appear to us as difficulties and paradoxes. Thus, it is necessary that, down to the individual echelon, for each /224/ rightful claimant whose turn arrives, there are lands available in the sector watered just at this moment by one or the other of the 5 great séguias diagonally crossing the plain, and which leave between them distances of several kilometers on occasion. There again, as in what concerns the Mtugga, it would be a mistake to pursue in detail

/226 cont./

423 A whole "parcellary orchestration" is thus glimpsed here,
312 each *ikhs* putting at the same time in all the quarters of the
613 ground its fields, which, the day having come, the exact time-switch
of the turns for water animates. Scansion of agricultural
time in turns for water, internal equilibrium of the group in
agnatic subgroups, classification imposed by the understanding
for the ground: these three elements are combined in a coherent
system.

What origin to ascribe to such a perfect arrangement? The
[829] user himself does not imagine the cause of it. His spontaneous
gesture, when one interrogates him on this law, is to point with
his finger at the interlacing of the cane in the mat where he is
seated: each sprig corresponds to a parcel. What he has an intuition
of, in fact, is an ensemble linked by inextricable solidarities.
But that is a feeling. Research must be more demanding.

121 The first explanation that would come to mind is that of
(171) these divisions of inheritance which, in two milieus paradoxically
far apart, end in the *open field* /the words in italics are in
English in the original source/ and the strip fields of the European
619 North, the *muchâ^{c}* of Syria, samplings of the same type. But
634 what creates the difficulty, and at the same time the interest of
the Haut-Atlasic example, is that the *taqbilt* is not in any way an
enlarged, even fictive, family. The social link, indeed avowed
and conscious, does not at all consist here in the ramification of
a /227/ family stock. If, within the *ikhs*, the attachment of the
[613] different "foyers," *takatin*, to one another is genealogical and
[592] amenable to the successoral law, it is completely different for
the attachment of the *ikhs*-s between themselves within the group:
their connection, which it will be necessary to define more closely,
is entirely different. It is necessary to look elsewhere than in
divisions of inheritance for the source of an agrarian order.

121 An original collectivism, which might more or less maintain
itself in the Atlas? The hypothesis is tempting. To tell the truth,
it calls for a judgment on the age and the character of these
[423] societies. On the other hand, it runs counter to what we know

/229 cont./

423 To what extent is a gentilitial distribution, in itself called
613 upon to subdivide itself among foyers by a drawing of lots, prac-
ticable in the case where superficies, human forces, and water
619 module assume a breadth more important than in the narrow
184 canton? It then seems that a sort of dilation is imparted to the
elements in the case. New subdivisions are intercalated between
the basic subgroups and the individual: thus the three "thirds" of
the a. H'adduyws, the binary rhythm of the a. Lh'sen, the
localization by villages of the Idma "minor ikhs-s." All the
more reason that it would appear among the Mez'ud'a, where a
generous plains affluence presents something like a magnifying
projection of the tribal structure. Apart from a certain order of
grandeur, the notion of ikhs is lost /230/ as a basis of distribu-
tion. Then conventional divisions intervene, such as in
Mez'ud'a the "centuries," myawat, which become the subjects
[671] of law. And the law is ramified by degrees down to the "foyer,"
takat, but not without putting into play other measures of debit
and of agricultural surface. That is all the more marked in
Mez'ud'a, because beside such distributions for the water from
the channels of the asif el-Mâl, the distribution of source water
remains gentilitial. On the one hand, the solution of breadth,
on the other, solution of narrowness. This coefficient of contrac-
tion or of dilation, of grain more or-less loose or held together is
essential for the interpretation of the facts. One realizes that by
619 the example of the Mez'ud'a. Again in this tribe it is a matter
634 of the harmonious enlargement of a taqbilt of traditional type, an
enlargement whose steps are to be read clearly in the present
184 structures. More vast, more complex, and above all more in-
structive would be the Mtugga example, which covers an im-
mense country and some thirty thousand souls. The ensemble is
composed of several taqbilt-s substantial enough themselves to
interpose one or two other levels of classification between them
and the ikhs-s that compose them.

423 Thus the elements of the montagnard order: gentilitial
613 division of the soil, vitality of the equilibrium among ikhs-s,
184 parcellary orchestration, are subject to different fates as one

/231 cont./

829 which has gathered on an exiguous land a humanity with solid virtues, with no less solid appetites. But other considerations can come into play. For example, the sentimental hierarchy which puts in the first rank the ensemble constituted by the village and its irrigations. This ensemble is instinctively considered as the replica of the group itself, linked to it by strict correspondences, verifiable on the echelon of the individual, and inspired by a distributive ethic.

423 From this angle, the parcellary orchestration would appear as a law of equalization of chances, with a view to the use of the water or of the soil. It would be the rectification imposed by man on the precariousness of the milieu. The infinite parceling-out of the lands and their distribution by grounds reflect in certain respects a tendency to put each member of the collectivity in possession of similar means. Also this division of the risks increases as the value attributed to the soil is diversified, individualized, fractioned into units almost personal -- or possessing at the very least a personality, that of the name.

171 As linked as it may be to montagnard impoverishment, such comportment is not without analogy in the rest of the Maghreb. The intense vitality of the agricultural association has been justly defined as a means of struggling against the hazards of the milieu (1).

1. That is a central motif of the thesis of L. Milliot, L'association agricole chez les Musulmans du Maghreb /Agricultural association among the Mussulmans of the Maghreb/, 1911.

[613] [571] [619] 121 171 Thus the equalization of the chances is sought, not as here, in an internal equilibrium among ikhs-s, but in economic solidarity among individuals. Not in the statutory relations among subgroups in the taqbilt, but in the multiplication of contractual bonds. Beneath these differences of form disguising a similitude of objective, doubtlessly opens a fruitful path of comparison between North African societies.

/240 cont./

184 This immediate datum is thrust upon the observer as on the users. In addition, for the analysis, it will be the best of the bases of departure.

Admittedly, difficulty begins almost at once. For if one indeed sees the basic unity, contrasting with the vehemence of the personalities that stand out from it, the investigation fails to press the contrast harder. For example, we do not know the Gedmiwa, a group of antiquity as venerable as the Seksawa, well enough for the comparison between the two to go beyond the plane of simple description. It is not yet possible to define seriously the culture of this Moroccan South-West, which asserts itself by characters as tangible as the speech or the very figure of the inhabitant. It is not yet possible to state precisely or to explain how, out of this homogeneity, particularisms /241/ sufficiently lively for their exchanges to be ordered in relations of external law are articulated.

131 Here between the Lemgo, the Kattos, and the Atlasic arête
[133] is a mountainous quadrilateral some thirty kilometers on a side as
the crow flies. At least four juridical identities are crowded
there: Nfifa, Demsira, Dwiran, and Seksawa. And each one in
turn is subdivided.

619 The consistency of the *amerwas*, "matrimonial gift," the
[585] effective force of coswearers imposed according to the gravity of
[691] a litigation go from simple to double if the litigants do not be-
[695] long to the same unit. Today the unit is the "tribe": Seksawa,
Dwiran, etc. But this can also be, more authentically, what we
619 call the "fraction," that is, the *taqbilt*. And there are seven or
634 eight of them merely in Seksawa. Thus, in Demsira, the rate of
585 the *amerwas* varies according to four zones which apply the
regime of exteriority to one another. In the case of a girl given
[184] to a Mtuggi, the *chchard'*, stipulated marriage-settlement for
the benefit of the bride, includes in certain *taqbilt*-s, and not in
619 others, the obligation for landed property. In land matters,
634 extracantonal testimony is not secured. Avowed reason: because
671 the foreigner could not be well informed. But, obviously, it is
[186] because the group prizes its juridical integrity. Between different
[184]

619 /241 cont./
634 cantons complex rules govern the validity of the notarial writing
671 itself. Thus, in Nfifa, only the act drawn up by native t't'olba
184 or North Demsira or Mtugga is good. Otherwise it is no longer
acceptable.

619 Mechanism of cellular defense, one might say. And also
182 diversified code of exchanges between cells. Legislating for it-
184 self, protected from its neighbors by invalidations, restrictions, or stipulations, surrounded by this type of armor that the doubling of the procedural rate constitutes, the group certainly, and although its law differs but little, poses as an individual.

184 It will thus be legitimate to speak of the Seksawa system, original part of the Chleuh /Shluh/ ensemble. And if it is still impossible, or merely premature, to define clearly the relations of this originality to the surrounding originalities or to the matter of the ensemble, one will not, for all that, let oneself be caught by this methodological grief that every investigator of the North African institution feels at first before the immensity of the tasks and the insufficiency of the materials.

/242/ Presence of Islam in the Law

779 There is, moreover, a certain angle from which -- paradoxi-
671 cally enough, since indeed more ample -- the problem has been not only scrutinized by Islamic and European science (1), but experimentally felt, lived by the foreigner. It is that of the relations between such-and-such "customary law" and the Mussulman law. In fact, we believe, the political or cultural discordancy of the upper valleys is far from revealing any rupture in the moral or geographic continuity of the Maghrebi societies. The Mussulman law, acting everywhere, albeit unequally, on native factors, combines with them in a diversity that nevertheless is

1. One thinks especially of the studies of M. Morand, L. Milliot, R. Maunier, G.-H. Bousquet.

/272 cont./

Directions, Areas, and Cycles

776 794 619 (181) It is not that the narrowly particularized life of the canton is not linked with the whole space of the Sous, of the Drâ, of the Anti-Atlas. Mystical sutures link, without one's always being able to explain how, or why, the domain of the Seksawa with the vast world of the South. Isolationists through their history, they have remained, for the hagiology, in contact with the outside. Let us note, this outside is solely the South. The matter is so marked that at the heart of a particular cycle, that of Sidi Sâid u Âbdennâim, their fervor has abandoned the father, man of the North and of the West, in order to be attached to the son, who has his sanctuary in the a. Tamment on a tributary of the right bank of the Sous.

776 794 These devotions are not unilateral. A saint of the Seksawa, that of Assttif, has his descendants benefit from definite dues, or, more broadly, from discretionary offerings in the surrounding tribes Especially the ones of what one can call the circum-Tichka ensemble.

794 484 /The next three paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ This marabout of course does not enjoy a cens in his own taqbilt of the Idma: he is only an importer of currency, we might say. He collects a cens from the a. Wagunsan, the Idaw Kais, the Idaw Mçat't'og, /273/ part of the Imdlawen, of the Tigguga, of the a. H'adduyws, of the a. Gasa, of the a. Tkssit, of the Imlwan, of the Iwensekten, of the Amismatert, of the a. Gâyer, of the a. Lh'sen, of the Sekrat and of Iguntar. Let us follow him on one of his annual trips. At the Mîlâd he goes to the zaouia of the Derqâwa of Araz'z'en in Arghen — the fatherland of Ibn Toumert — passing by the sanctuary of sidi Âbdallah u Sâid. In January he travels through the a. Semmeg, makes a pilgrimage to the tomb of Sidi Bubker u Mh'and at Tirk (Amzel). In March he circulates on the S. reverse of the Tichka. Then there he is in Haut /Upper/ Gedmiwa, Aghbar, Ogdemt. The perimeter of 527 attraction is vast: strange thing, there is no mârûf at the zaouia. The latter has remained outside of the movement which, around

/273 cont./
776 (H'âh'a). Imintanout, which constitutes, at the outlet of the col,
794 the turntable for all this hagiology, knows two directions: that of the South with the Nâçirî, and that of the East with the saint of Tameçloh't.

Second aspect: that of the more or less great density of the bonds. Of all the Mtugga, only the Intamlin, and nothing but a
[181] part /274/ among them, serve a foreign saint. The haughty independence of the tribe thus manifests itself again in that (1).

[175] 1. Has it been thus at every epoch? The western part of the tribe seems, in the sixteenth century, to have participated actively in the *jihâd*. Cénival identifies at Tamalukt the Culeihat el-Muridin of Léon, *Sour in.*, *Port.*, t. I, p. 765, n. 1. Besides, one of the near successors of al-Janûlî, ^{c}Abd al-Karîm b. ^{c}Umar al-Fallâh', is called at-Tikkî at the same time as al-H'âh'î, *Mumti^{c} al-asmâ^{c}*, 1305, p. 45, l. 2 *de fine*. The ritual personality of a group therefore varies not only with its morphology, but also with its history. But we are only rarely equipped to follow these relations with sufficient precision.

Inversely, among the Seksawa, the people of Sekrat make use of all the patronages possible, local and outside, and set the price on it. They have vowed no less than "twelve Fridays of butter" to
[634] various saints. In a general fashion the principal concern of the
Seksawa bears on their cantonal saints, and evidently on the na-
[619] tional saint in particular, whose cult reacts on all the rest of their ritual life.

792 But if there is tribal stiffness or particularism, there is also
[794] participation in vast hagiological areas which imperious silhou-
[184] ettes dominate. These are, it seems, two strongly contrasting

/275 cont./

794 The a. Lh'sen, so coherent for all that touches on the agrar-
184 ian order or on the cantonal devotions, assert on this subject a
characteristic diversity: Wanz'id' pays to the Nâçirî a measure
of barley, 100 nuts, a Friday of butter per foyer. But its neigh-
bor, Iwulla, serves Sidi Abdallah u Sâid, in addition to the
Nâçirî. One would find the same diversity among the Idma vil-
lages, a canton nevertheless very uniform.

A comparison with the neighboring Mez'ud'a would show this
diversity, enriched moreover by recourse to a more extensive
scale of saints, being ordered in a harmonious system, with great
movements of the ensemble. This sort of comparison is not our
objective, and we shall not dwell upon it. Nevertheless, on this
619 plane as well as on many others, the contrast between the bal-
178 anced structure of the Mez'ud'a and that, partitioned and diver-
gent, of the Seksawa is striking. Or rather, there ceases to be
contrast there if one eliminates this vague word "tribe," which
labels for us, in both cases, realities how different! It is neces-
[634] sary in fact to compare the Mez'ud'a, not to the Seksawa in their
totality, but to the Idma or to the a. Lh'sen: the Mez'ud'a are a
taqbilt that has known how or was able to keep its basic structures,
all while distending itself to a population of more than 2,000
foyers. While in Seksawa, from the bottom to the top of the val-
ley, vicissitudes have broken up an /276/ equivalent population
into eight or nine organisms. It is not without interest that the
study of religious forms thereupon meets, in its conclusions, those
of history.

The transformations that have modified the structure of the
groups, in reducing or amplifying the geographical ensembles,
have naturally acted on the local economy of the sacred, of the
794 mystical patronages of their fiscal counterpart. Correlatively,
184 the variety of the relations between the saint and his partners has
become very great. On the one hand, large zones of influence.
On the other, personal devotions and initiations. Here affiliations
proceeding from a free choice. There collective or hereditary
clienteles, the origin of which is no longer perceived by anyone.

/284 cont./

346 I pass the constructions that are inhabited by the present
794 foqra, administrators, rather than holders of the benefic power,
above all devolutionaries of the "benefice" tisura. Made of
stone arranged in a straight line, on two and sometimes three
stories, in joined assemblages, according to the powerful techniques
of the mountain, they present nothing remarkable, except
794 for their paradoxically urban aspect. However, as this small
173 group materializes and exploits the tradition of the sanctuary, it
will not be useless to investigate the oral chronicle concerning it.

It is composed of three families: the a. H'ammo, the a.
Ali, and the a. Lh'sen, besides the habitual fringe of allogenes
[784] and refugees. The reduction of the effective force of the latter
two families in relation to the first is attributed to a curse that
the saint cast upon them as penalty for an ambush in which they
traitorously massacred the a. Musa. They had invited them to a
tiwilt, "banquet-palaver." Having led them into a room upstairs,
below which they had piled stalks of maize, they smoked
them out. The unfortunate ones who jumped out the window
were slain. Only one escaped. Even he was killed farther away.
[211] Thirty-three slabs, each representing one of these human lives,
have been, it seems, imbedded since then in the ceiling of the
maqçura of a mosque at T'abya. Magic and official cult are
joined here with cantonal patriotism.

[784] /285/ What the saint is punishing in the case at hand is not
only the treachery of the two families, but the crime, whose
victims were pure descendants of the royal line. A coincidence
776 to think about. Quite naturally this leads one to investigate as to
whether there are not other characteristics that can be revealed
[778] by an examination of the places and which would put one on the
same track. First of all, this sidi bu Lqnadel, "the saint with the
[619] candle ends," corresponding in Berbère /Berber/ to a bab n-tfawin,
[634] which would also signify "the man with the proofs," would be
none other than H'addo, the eponym of the a. H'adduyws of the
highest valley, founder of the medieval dynasty. One bestows on
[796] him each year no more than a little merrymaking: barely a few
[443] cooked chickens, which the children eat. But three generations
[692]

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/288 cont./

Attempt at evaluation of the regular annual revenues of Lalla Aziza (in Seksawa)

Name of taqbilt	Name of donor group or groups	Barley (in measures)	Maize (in measures)	Butter (in kg.)	Walnuts (in thousands)	Sheep or goats	Bovines
a. Musa.	Igernssuq	29				1	1
	T'abya	62					
	Tabratjut	82					
a. Lh'sen.	Ensemble					1	1
a. Skrat.	Dyur Sekrat ...	44	44	22			
	Tikid'ut	23	23	11,5			
Iguntar.					0,650		
Idma.	Tasselli	7					1
	Talmud'ât	3					
	Tannsmekht ...	—					
	Wanchkrir	80					
Imt'ddan.	Tinwalin	27	27		(6 measures of almonds in case of good harvests)	27	2
	Tamezgurt	16	16			16	
	Tagunit	45	45			45	
	Tamt'ddit	16	16			16	
a. H'adduyws	a. Wasif	20		10			fac.
	Fensu	10					
	Tasa	9					
	a. Bah'ammo ..	3,5		14.5			
	Igersafen	3,5					
I. Geryun.	Tinerghat	4			3,2		fac.
	Imi Wasif	3			2,4		
	Asif Lah'lo	3,5			3		
	Rekt Wasif	2,5			2		
	Ighelmellen ...	4,5			3,7		
	Ikis	8			6,8		
a. Âbdella.							1

N.B. To which are added regular dues from the a. Gasa, the Idaw i-yzimmer (Idaw Mh'mud), the a. Wageryan (Dwiran), and the Haut Gedmiwa.

Totals ...		505.5	71	58	21.75	106	from 6 to 8
	Equivalence ...	67.4 qx	28,5 qx				

/qx = quintals/

/292 cont./
796 initial gathering above sidi bu Lqnadel (connection with the old
782 royal cycle?) and the direction of the procession. It is carried
out from upstream downstream, even for the offerings from the
plain. This latter trait and the mediocrity of the affluence
contrast radically with what happens at the feast of the Mîlâd.

At this time the richness and the precision of the rite are
more perceptible, and the atmosphere without any doubt richer.
[619] The victim is a cow, offered by the Imt'ddan and their a. Irro
emigrants. Perhaps because they are the original group of the
saint or, better, the substitute for this group. The victimary is
traditionally furnished by the family of the a. Baqqa, from
[619] Tagunit (Imt'ddan). It is also this taqbilt that supplies the
flagellants. The procession departs from downstream, below the mosque.
Same Prophetic litany. The victim is led, the one sacrificing it
holding it by the left horn, a naked dagger /293/ in the right, as
far as below the "house of Lalla Aziza." The house has an inner
court and a high open chamber as loggia, and where women are
gathered, as they are on the neighboring terraces. The whole
infinitely motley. People armed with bludgeons precede the cow
a little. They face it, screaming and brandishing bare sticks or
olive branches. The victimary slits the throat of the beast. If
[787] the latter rises in a jump, good omen. Cries, ho hos /Fr.
youyous/, and confusion, amidst which a marabout from Assttif
says the fâth'a, while the victim is skinned. It disappears under
a yelling cluster of the faithful who rush beneath the blows to tear
away some skin, some meat, by hand or with a knife. Upon the
arrival of the cow, an old woman kissed it between the two
horns. As soon as the blood spurts forth, there is a rush: one fills
a bottle with it, another besmears his face, many the eyes.
Simultaneously, the throats of two sheep are slit, one offered by
Assttif, the other by Wanchkrir. The blood of hens colors,
however, the downstream threshold of the zaouia. Then the degree of
emotion, perceptible from the beginning, becomes extreme.
Excitement reaches its peak. The animal, finally dismembered, is
put to cook in the large pots that the house shelters. Divided into
fragments, it will be carried in all directions by those present,

/306 cont./

776 The figure that results is sometimes that of a pedant, some-
823 times that of a maker of springs. The traits that are ascribed to
[789] him in this sense are numerous. The waters of Meghdir, T'abya,
ait Wardas, Usikis, Iggayzen, Wanz'id', Lâwina of Sidi Ah'med
u Âli are attributed to his miracles. Finally the source of the
Amerdul on the Tabgurt, famous for the difficult regulations of
irrigation between high-mountain villages, is attributed to him.
776 Letters and hydraulics, there are two specialties well adapted to
the milieu. So well adapted that they are merged in the moral
climate of the country, without a personal visage emerging from
it. Here one again joins the stream of rural saints, whose type
sidi Mh'and embodies.

776 But, a striking thing, he is practically the only one to em-
184 body it among the Seksawa, whom an originality very clearly
contrasts, on this plane, to the neighboring groups. Among the
619 Demsira, for example, the figures of classic Maghrebi saints
776 abound. Here is sidi Nâçer of Tamarwut, who, patient husband
of a quarrelsome wife, employs lions as forest workers to fell for
184 him and to tie up his wood for him. Again lions serve as mounts
619 for two doctors of Maâred'. And sidi Mh'and b. Âbdelkrim who,
825 again by lions, had his maize threshed! Only lions, the profane
will say! But the fact is that their name, figured iz'mawn in the
plural, designates properly the powers of the man of God. It is in
this way that one speaks of the "lions of sidi Ah'med u Musa"; the
term enters the lexicon of popular doctrine. We found it again in
776 the topography of the a. Musa. Again in Demsira, sidi Brahim
184 n-ait Lqad'i instructs the most redoubtable spirits in the forest.
619 Sidi Lah'sen b. Moh'ammed of Iregh drove away birds and rodents,
so harmful to the crops. The Seksawa hagiology, imperiously
centralized on one heroine, Lalla Aziza, appears dryer, more
organized. In this not very exploitable domain of comparisons be-
tween tribes, it is necessary to stop here with an impression, which
only a monographic investigation of this part of the Atlas will be
[181] able to infirm or confirm. If it were verified, this trait would re-
join a certain /307/ number of others to make up for the Seksawa
the original physiognomy that one perceives in them, without al-
ways being able to define it.

/323 cont./

691 695 have studied it above. It aims at re-establishing a distributive integrity among riparian patrimonies, thus bringing into play an agrarian order on whose exact nature it has been necessary to reserve judgment.

423 691 Finally there are the conflicts of personal or landed-property order. The procedure — it is indeed then a matter of procedure — is in two parts. The temporal authority, made cognizant first, brings about and records the agreement of the parties in the person of a muh'akim, most often a religious or scholarly individual. Who is this personage exactly?

Judgment or Arbitration?

623 634 619 692 The judiciary attributions in Chleuh /Shluh/ country are entrusted today to a collegial Tribunal. This is an extension of the former competence of the jemâa, which customarily dealt with only public law and the first phase of the judiciary instance properly speaking. But this extension doubtlessly is not exorbitant of a lively communitarian tradition, which is explained by the fact that, in contrast to the feudal forms observed on the plain, it impressed the reformer.

/324/ On the other hand, and on the historical plane, nothing permits affirming that in a number of epochs this extension of competence was not produced spontaneously. The demarcation [629] between the natures of the public law and of the private law is tenuous since most of the landed-property litigations arise from conflicts between groups or subdivisions of groups, which is also the theme of the public life of the canton. Some written traces of settlements of this sort authorize the hypothesis.

/The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ An act of 982 Heg.: 1572, concerning the well-known gens of the a. D'alh'a and some persons from Tawanghast, mentions that one of those interested "produced, in the bosom of the jemâa, the act of guarantee of his mother's dower," kharraja ^{c}ala wasat'i'l-jamâ^{c}a. In this affair, obviously of private law,

623 /324 cont./

634 619 692 the intervention of the collectivity appears to have a jurisdictional or notarial value. This testimony is important. It is not at all isolated.

In the old Seksawa titles one often finds mention of the jemâa not only as Senate, or as guardian of public order, but in judiciary or arbitral attributions. [693] A writing of 1042 Heg.: 1630, in a. H'adduyws, mentions it sitting simultaneously with a "cadi." More recently, in 1315 Heg.: 1897, a long piece relates the meeting of the entire jemâa of the Idma, with its two moqaddem-s, in order to resolve a serious matter, which, taking account of the reticences of the text, appears to have been the rape of a notable's daughter.

The jemâa, moreover, is always present, like the chorus of old tragedy. But it is also often the protagonist of the piece, [792] [794] either if it exercises its function openly, or if it acts only indirectly, through personages who tend to differ with it or even compete with it: profane chiefs like the moqaddem or the amghar, men of piety, of study, or of benediction, like the t't'aleb, the fqih, the agurram.

692 693 There is one point, however, where a division of labor seems always to operate. This is in the landed-property and successoral procedure. The distinctive trait in this is the dualism. The affairs, first presented to the chief or to the jemâa, are referred to a personage who has been agreed upon by the two parties. In this instance, it was most often the marabout of the zaouias of Assttif or of sidi Ah'med u Âli or of Bu^{c}anfur, far in the plain. Sometimes, too, it was a specialist called "cadi" (1).

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1. On these personages in the Atlas and the Sous, cf. J. Berque, "Un glossaire notarial arabo-chleuh de Deren (XVIII^{e} siècle) /An Arabo-Shluh notarial glossary from the Deren (eighteenth century)/." R. afr., 1950, pp. 388 sq., with references to jurists of the South.

/369 cont./

Pecuniary Composition and Penal Law

613 Is the group resolved in the ensemble of the ikhs-s? Traits
619 of discordance in the modern evolution of these two notions lead
634 one to pose this difficult problem. And the evolution, which is
12[illegible] above all expressed in an unequal reaction to the Arabic writing,
has doubtlessly only accentuated more ancient discordances about
which one is reduced to hypotheses. Very certainly, however, the
Chleuh /Shluh/ taqbilt is adult before these influences exert themselves.
What are the relations between the group and its agnatic
681 subdivisions here? Especially in the matter of repressive law,
what is the part of the private pecuniary compensation: and of the
/370/ sanction of public order? All that we can say, if we wish
to avoid appealing to a suspect scheme of evolution: retaliation,
then compensation, then fine, -- is that at the period to which
the first written sources go back there are both decreed punishment
and tariffed composition.

613 But another verification can put us on the track. The ancient
178 state did not disclose any elements of the problem other than those
of today. The debate already dealt with the interaction of the
commune on the one hand, persons on the other. An acquisitive
individualism, the constant rupture of the "patriarchal" society into
irascible co-operators, indeed into foyers hiving off or into
economic rivals, undoubtedly tempers from this time the gentilitial
primacy. From the contentious plane they suppress it in the
penumbra of old solidarities, tenacious undoubtedly, but which no
longer crop out in disputes. Moreover, the phases of personal
power, of which the twentieth century offered a perfectly observable
cycle, certainly had to be adjusted, and not without collisions
and uneasiness, to the former structure. If it is noteworthy that
592 the distribution of the habitat by villages, lmud'â, does not cor-
[621] respond to anything in the communal institution, and that the unit
[634] is always the taqbilt, without prejudice to the sometimes quite
mixed distribution of the ikhs-s into villages, it may be noted in
[613] an inverse sense that no authority of ancestors comes to restrict the
citizenship of the head of foyer. It is indeed the "foyer," takāt

175 /373 cont./

685 "Note," taqyîd, of the fine imposed by the moqaddem of the
683 Idma on an individual who stole some almonds, and whose
brothers cursed the one robbed, yal^{c}anû bi-kathrat il-qabîh':
[634] 10 m. for the thief and for each insulter. Without date.

175 Therefore, to be content with what can be restored by the
671 existing documentary sources, and even taking into account transpositions inherent in the writing, one is struck by the publicist and regulatory character of this penal law. To what extent this character has prevailed over familial autonomy will be shown by the following texts.

175 /374/ /The following three paragraphs are in small type in
685 the original source./ In 1267 Heg.: 1851 the Idaw Geryun
[619] decreed that an insolvent thief must be executed by his agnates.
[634] The latter must put him to death. If they do not resolve to do this, they must release him from his fine at their own expense. The jemâa frees the agents of this execution from any payment of dîâ!

In 1276 Heg.: 1860 the a. Tasa condemned one among them to death for robbery. He was therefore executed. "But not at all by the hand of one alone, but by that of all, and without dîâ, fine or exile, being incumbent on anyone."

There still exist in Haut Seksawa old men who remember
[613] deaths of this sort. The executioner is sometimes the agnatic group,
[634] sometimes the taqbilt, or rather a subdivision of the latter, the
[619] "third," thelth.

671 In these cases at hand, the primacy of the group and of the
681 justice that it renders is curiously reconciled with an archaic concern for immunity. Penalty of public order, certainly, but one that takes precautions on the side of private vengeance and the pernicious influences of spilled blood. The ikhs, or the "close ones," here become ministers of a repression that is indeed that
[613] of the state. And not only must they thus kill one of theirs, whom their "duty" would have been to protect or avenge, but it is the state that finally absolves them of the responsibility for this murder.

/379 cont./

634 We are in Idaw Geryun around 1836. The moqaddem ex-
451 presses himself as a delegated administrator. And he finishes
[652] with a negative balance: the sums advanced by himself!

Such documents reveal a singular advancement of the ad-
ministrations in certain of these mountain groups. An account-
[554] ancy implying the use of writing is demanded from the com-
munal magistrate, without the slightest abuse being allowed him. Undoubtedly, as has been said, parallel to this vein runs another vein: that of the pressures of personal power. The remarkable thing is that the former was never abolished and continued to represent, in the worst adventures, an aspiration never discouraged.

634 The attributions of the city are not only internal, but also of international law. Here again the moqaddem and the ait Arbâin represent the interests of their group. Among the most frequent pacific acts in which they could take part, and which have left us written traces, let us cite:

175 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the orig-
619 inal source./ In 1136 Heg.: 1724 an agreement between the
675 Idaw Geryun and the people of Uzaga (upper ait H'adduyws) on
634 the subject of a limit of forest use, maçâlih' al-ghâba. Guar-
antors are furnished respectively — old men for the /380/ most part, ifqiren — as security against trespass or robberies occurring on the confines; also as respect for the acorn grove's being put in defense. The agreement carries a penal clause, a considerable one of 1,000 onces to one who breaks it.

Agreements concerning pasturage and water rights on the Tabgurt (acts of 1114 Heg.: 1702 and 1115 Heg.: 1703) of the Idma and a. H'adduyws jemâas. Elsewhere I have published and analyzed these acts. Here again we find the principle characters
[613] noted up to here: presence of the ikhs delegates, of the moqad-
dem-s, climate of detailed discussion mixed with an archaic communitarian ardor.

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101 103 covering the whole basin of the asif el-Mâl. In the case of the neighboring valley, this marking by a great medieval name is not even possible any more. One knows no more, and for the mere convenience, it seems, than "people of the Nfis," *ait n-Nffis.* Unless one includes them, significantly, in the recent "Gund'afa"...

Levels of the Social Organization

619 634 613 182 The Chleuh /Shluh/ *taqbilt* is not a federation of families. It exists in and of itself, is not in the least resolved -- as it may be in other Maghrebi domains -- in a balance of *gentes*. The study of its penal law does not leave any doubt in this regard. At the same time as a striking maturity, it reveals the primacy of the public order over the familial defense: honor, vendetta, composition or retaliation. The luxuriant genre of the codifications indicates a stage which is that of the applied penalty, of decreed indemnification. Not only does the system circumscribe and suppress the gentilitial initiative, as may be the case in Kabylia, but it substitutes itself. Similarly, although the political course of the *taqbilt* does not entirely suppress the role of the *ikhs*-s, it is that of a democracy alternating with the tyrannical phenomenon, and not that of an assembly of "Roman senators." Even though the weight of age, of wealth, of alliances, quite like that of kinship or of the prestiges of familial order, compensate for its tumultuous propensity, it is not a "senate" that deliberates here, but a crowd. All the more, the meeting place is never a building, as in Kabylia, but an esplanade. Such signs count.

Certainly, external influences and internal evolutions were able to act on the system differently, according to the matter and the case at hand. Many dissimilarities are thus explained. Today we very likely only have access to a stage of unequal wear and tear according to the parts, but further and especially of alterings. Such as it is, among the Seksawa as in the rest of the Chleuh /Shluh/ region, the *taqbilt* stood out all the more as the function of the *ikhs* was reduced to -- or re-established in -- its

/414 cont./

619 present tasks. And that seems so ancient that it is this second
634 stage that prevailed in the cult. The village mosque espoused
613 distribution of the habitat: there are no mosques of *ikhs*, but
182 mosques of agglomeration; moreover, vestiges of a situation
[346] where intervillage sanctuaries also existed are discerned. This
776 is the case for these /415/ edifices, isolated and most often
778 secularized, that are found in the upper valleys: undoubtedly
346 *taqbilt* mosques. On the other hand, devotion to saints, if it is
634 of contractual accent, and hence dominated by a complete and
individual freedom of initiative, has as cadre the canton much
619 more frequently than the family. The existence of *taqbilt* saints, not to mention a national saint, finally characterizes the Seksawa. So many traits in which, certainly for the present, but also for a large slice of the past, are affirmed the conquests of the small montagnard state as political and even, in certain respects, cultural person. It has thus assumed a good part of the attributions that perhaps formerly fell to a patriarchal organization. It eliminated the others, or suppressed them in the magico-religious context of the most summary procedures. Its own evolution towards a conscious system, with transactions and demarcations, with judiciary techniques, with acknowledged profane character, reduced these procedures more and more. And if one considers that the *taqbilt*, adherent to a territorial entity, assumes there precise agrarian functions, one will think of its exceptional plenitude of definition.

182 Between the small montagnard state, the canton whose life is collected in the bottom of a ravine, and the major system, which embraces all the affluents of a valley, a threshold has been crossed. Threshold of dimensions, intelligibility. Here functions a social morphology that the clear liaisons with the space explain.
613 Let us attempt to state them precisely. On the synthesis of
182 landed and technical visual reality that the quarter constitutes depends a synthesis of parental, classificatory, religious and juridical reality: the *ikhs*.

It seems to be the great actor of the agrarian order. On it is arranged the distribution of land and water, thus the material and

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ṣoff, *leff* (1).

103 1. Cf. J. Berque, "Qu'est-ce qu'une 'tribu' nord-africaine? /What is a North African
182 'tribe'?/," *Mélanges L. Febvre*, 1954, t. 1, pp. 261 sq.

On the contrary, spatial denominations, founded basically on the prodigious richness of words designating the organs of the field, carry a precise meaning, up to the highest echelons. The name of Tamgonsi, of Tassila, of Ibuban arouses the clearest images. And also that of Seksawa, envisaged as that of a hydrographic basin. Hazy on the contrary, and irreducible to analysis, if one has it suggest a human ensemble which would be defined by something other than precisely the name and the habitat. Nothing else in fact, on this level, that explains, for the Seksawa, the exact nature of this formation.

The Taqbilt of the Haut Atlas: A Pole of Explication

[634] [619] In the *taqbilt*, on the contrary, a group structure is organized with a country structure. The names are both the sign and the agent of this organization. Would it be to strain the expression to say at what point the originality of such a form resides in the combination that takes place there between linguistics and geography? If the synthesis is meticulous here and full of orders of things for which the North African societies never offer discovery of the same genre, at least of the same degree, the study of these societies will have available a useful criterion merely to measure in them the presence or absence, the incoherence or connection of these various elements.

171 103 An example: the ideas of bounds, of ground, of quarter are found more or less in all the countrysides of the Maghreb. I pass by the idea of named place, in which one confuses them, often wrongly. But nowhere up to here, other than in the Haut-Atlas,

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000 the notion of "Bédouin" embraces in his eyes the peasants of the Atlas, he interprets their cohesion as a trait of agnatic solidarity, ᶜaṣābiyya. But this hypothesis, although venerable, is nonetheless a hypothesis.

/421/ What is sure is that there was collaboration, mutual reaction, exchanges between the two types. Reality most often offers only intermediary or worn forms of it. In the Haut-Atlas, these are economic structures that, with the complicity of the event, permitted not only the survival of one of the two formulas, but its systematic expression. Inversely, the relations between a certain organization and certain features of the landscape are undoubtedly responsible for the manifestations, more or less pure, of the other formula. The tribe with ancestor, nonchalantly posed, by its way of life, on a country propitious for wide variations, on the one hand (1);

> 1. The best type of this in the Maghreb is perhaps the Tripolitan "tribe." The remarkable in. /unpublished/ account by Cauneille shows the fluidity of this grouping.

the montagnard community, firm in its techniques, clamped to its vales, on the other hand: these two types equal each other as poles of explication. Between the two are ordered the rural morphologies of the Maghreb.

Local Breakup of the Type

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634 The taqbilt-s of the upper valleys present the second of these types to a degree of synthesis and under historical guarantees unhoped for. Whence, among other things, the interest of the Seksawa. But this is nevertheless an extreme case, subordinated to certain protections and to certain conditions.

[333] Scarcely at the approaches of the plain, the masonry becomes more dilapidated, collapsing by large sections. Such is the case for the Mtugga, whose haughty conservatism, however, has often,

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619 634 better than the puny mountain republics, known how to make itself respected. But even in the steepest cantons in Seksawa the system does not survive the problems of vaster bounds, of more complex political circuits. As soon as there is passage to a new [613] order of size, there is passage to another rhythm. The clarity of the relations between the ikhs-s and the taqbilt is effaced. Correlatively instructive phenomena appear.

For example, here are the a. H'adduyws, a vast ensemble composed of at least three taqbilt-s. The argument of a eponymous ancestor -- this is also the only case of this genre that we found in Seksawa -- covers an avowed heterogeneity of origins as well as of vocations. Here are the Mez'ud'a with their ten "centuries," myawat, expressing a recent and deliberate division, and their magnificent ritual and hydraulic order. They give an idea of the /422/ maximal dimension that can affect this genre of society without causing it to lose certain characteristics. And 613 nevertheless what changes are to be discerned there! In Mez'ud'a 619 as in a. H'adduyws the distribution of lands is no longer gentilitial 634 for the ensemble. It remains so only within the subgroups, themselves divided into ikhs-s. [423] The connection of the ikhs-s within the subgroup, of subgroups of different stage within the tribe is obscured. The habitat has an influence on the denomination of the inferior subdivisions. The ancient solidarities, expressed by an agrarian order, are effaced. There is, one might say, recourse to compensatory themes of identification or of qualification. That stands out from the name of the groups in Mtugga. Appeal is made simultaneously, or by turns, to the place, to the sobriquet, to consanguinity. A veritable disarray, a disorder which is not of the Chleuh /Shluh/ genius are distinguished, for example, in the heteroclite denominations of the inferior units in a khoms such as the Idaw Nifi. One in fact also sees simple numerical divisions intervene: a H'adduyws "third," Mez'ud'a "centuries," Mtugga [197] "fifths." In the second of these cases, the borrowing of a makhzanian form -- flattering analogy with the guich /gish/ tribes -- is obvious. But in the others, too, any artificial character is not excluded from the division.

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[613] The title of taqbilt is then indistinctly borne by the ensemble or its fractions. This is what, in certain respects, makes our own administrative nomenclature lean toward the term of "confederation" for the major group. At the base, same incertitude. Within the "third" or the "fifth," a whole layering of forms is interposed between the ikhs, as we have restrictively defined it, and subgroups whose solidarity becomes more and more indiscernable, less and less plausible, invoked less and less.

[631] To that is added the fact that the topographical breadth thus increased brings about, because of exigencies of social measure that are still obscure to us, but which we see by their work, the separate cantonment of the subgroups. New persons then appear. A relaxation of a chief's force, of the solidarity of a jemâa, the success of intrigue, and a "fraction" will affirm itself as independent. It was in this way that the khoms of the Idaw Merzug was sometimes distinct from the Mtugga and had its own caids, or that the three oriental myawat of the Mez'ud'a, the Intelzifit, for a time constituted a "tribe" (1).

[616] 1. The enumerations of the Baydhâq, E. Lévi-Provençal, Documents inédits d'histoire almohade /Unpublished documents of Almohade history/, 1928, pp. 62 sq., are interesting not only because of the /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ survivals of group names up to the present time that they permit marking, but also, and perhaps especially, because of the changes that have taken place in the hierarchy and the comprehension of these names. It has justly been noted that the names of the two famous leff-s, Imsifern and Inghertit, figure, as names of "fractions," in the list of Gedmiwa subgroups of the Almohade period. Let us observe also that one notes Farûga among the present Çawda or Mez'ud'a, quite different from the Frûga. And, moreover, this is

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/footnote 1 continued/ not the only anomaly of these names, of which a philological study -- perhaps impossible, it is true -- has not yet been done.

/423/ This coming and going between expansions and particularizations is observed even in our day. To each change of dimension corresponds a change of register. More profoundly than the debate between the jemâa and the caid, democracy and personal power, a debate that often accompanies it; this variation of social rhythms connected to the geographical dimensions of the group is revelatory of the life of these societies. The political game here is only superficial. Or rather the politics of the great chiefs of the Atlas succeeded only by a constant adaptation to these differences of level. It is thus that in his khoms of origin, the Idaw Talib, the great Àbdelmalek Mtuggi is only an amghar, the first among his peers. At the echelon of the Mtugga he is a patriarchal centralizer. At the echelon of the ensemble of dependent tribes, a cunning and authoritarian exploiter. His appetites must nevertheless reckon with the local transactional necessities of the minor amghar-s, his vassals at the echelon of the Moroccan South, and almost the entire country, courtier or rebel, he even rises to international intrigue. But the political weight that he throws about in a word amounts to the fidelity of his own jemâa.

A life like that of Àbdelmalek has run over the clavier of Maghrebi morphologies from top to bottom. It infinitely goes beyond our cadre. Only the attentive examination of the cases at hand would be able, for such and such a political unit, to cast the accent on one or the other of these movements as having the most influence upon its contexture. For there has been movement, and, throughout the course of history, dilation or contraction of the local cadres. The essential perhaps consequently lies in the correspondences exceeding the narrow limits. And if the present chapter has attempted to set up, in all its value as explicative criterion, the cantonal taqbilt, the precariousness and, on the

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619 634 whole, the exceptional character of this type, as rich in methodological import as it is vulnerable to circumstances, lead the analysis to envisage, by a new advance, the body of broader relations.

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III. Broad Formations

The "Leff" Solidarity: Related and Concurrent Forms

616 121 The theory of the *leff*-s, the general expression of which dates back some twenty years (1),

121 171 616 114 1. R. Montagne, *Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc* /The Berbers and the Makhzan in the South of Morocco/, 1930. Previously, partial observations or rough outlines of the theory in C. Devaux, *Les Kebaïles du Djerjera* /The Kabyle of the Djurdjura/, 1859, who gives, p. 40, a map of the *çoff*-s, where the famous "chessboard" is recognized. Hanoteau and Letourneux, *op. laud.*, t. II, pp. 11 sq. In the Constantine S., the opposition of the Bu^{c}okkāz *çoff* to the Bengana is figured in the Aurès by a reciprocal exchange noted by the Commissaire of the Sénatus Consulte (Schaeffer Report, arch. of Aris, 20-4-1890: significant map). Masqueray, *Formation des cités chez les populations sédentaires de l'Algérie* /Formation of cities among the sedentary populations of Algeria/, 1882, p. 167, recognizes these divisions, but gives a simplistic explanation for them. In Morocco, de Foucauld, *Reconnaissance*, 1888, pp. 318 sq., describes, apropos Sektana and Gezzula, what is quite precisely the balance of these two *leff*-s, less, however, the name. This last is stated by Ed. Doutté in his very rich article on "L'organisation sociale et domestique

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616 121 Still it seems less rich on this point than in other regions. The procedures brought into play on these occasions: berru or tberrit, "denunciation" of the original group; tighersi, "sacrifice of accession" to the new group -- have left here only a very rough souvenir. The forms are worn. But the institution has lost nothing of its affective or practical suggestions.

And the synthesis that is detected between notions such as judiciary rites, plural oaths, alliance, segregation or extension of collectivities undoubtedly restores the true atmosphere of the leff.

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The Leff in Seksawa

616 It is true that the Seksawa do not offer a very rich contribution to this study (1).

1. R. Montagne, Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc /The Berbers and the Makhzan in the South of Morocco/, p. 186, observes this asymmetry. He notes also that the Mtugga escape the leff-s, p. 193.

[178] [184] Among them today the notion of the leff is well obliterated, in any case stripped of the sentimental suggestions that it may maintain elsewhere, in the very close Gedmiwa, for example. Its theoretical role itself, that of a balanced dualism opposing piece by piece, as on a chessboard, the taqbilt-s of one and the same ensemble, remains unperceived.

616 619 634 Everyone in Seksawa may be considered as Eghŏrti, plur. Ighertan, with the exception of the a. Lh'sen, rather vigorously Imsifem, and by this title maintaining ties with the homonymous fractions of the Mez'ud'a, their saint sidi Ah'med u Âli, and their brothers beyond Tichka, the Tigguga. But the qualification is not always clear. If the Idma are unhesitatingly of the first group, it is not the same for the a. Musa and the a. H'adduyws. The former, by general admission, have wavered between the two flags.

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616 Spurred on by so much aggression, they pass for having changed
619 their colors so often that they have lost their appurtenance. It is
634 true that this is an unfortunate taqbilt, and that this trait of decadence is combined in it with the effect of other disgraces. The Idma ascribe an indefinite status to the a. H'adduyws, and they impute it to a complexity of origin, so different from their own unity. But diversity of origin has never prevented political affirmation in the Atlas. As for those concerned, if one questions the a. Tasa, of the dominant group, they confess to being Ighertan, but not without feigned or sincere reticence. The question seems to arouse in them an old and obscure controversy which one touches on only cautiously: that is to say, the foreigner will never have the last word on it.

Is the history of the recent period more conclusive? These solidarities could be of different order: ritual (thus for the liaison between the a. Lh'sen, the Tigguga, and the Mez'ud'a around sidi Ah'med u Ali (2), juridical (as perhaps in Gedmiwa, where certain procedural rates changed according to the qualification, or in Mez'ud'a, among whom the matrimonial regime, for example, diverged between a. Gd'id' and a. Td'd'it); finally and above all, political and martial. But on this last plane, which is the clearest and which has struck /428/ our observers the most, serious reservations are to be formulated as to the value of the rule. The major political power of the region, that of the Mtugga, developed, like that of the Glawa elsewhere, outside of these appurtenances. It is true that it constituted a "party" in itself alone. On the other hand, in the upper valleys themselves, a traditional hostility set the Idma against their a. H'adduyws "brothers" -- allied against them with the Imsifern a. Lh'sen. On the other side of the Atlas arête, the H'adduyws relied upon the Idaw l-yzimmer, of the opposite sign. And

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2. In this sense, remarkable unpublished notes of G. Delaye concerning the Urika and the Gheghaya.

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616 against their Idaw Mçat't'og brothers, they succeeded in buying
619 the benevolent neutrality of the Tigguga. Lastly, gentilitial or
634 even individual variations came about, to which no discredit was
attached.

The leff affinity never prevents initiative in the opposite direction. Such a state of being unattached can be attributed to decadence. But it is necessary to state that, at the single stage that may be observable, rival ambitions of individuals and families confront one another inside the canton, in paltry dispositions, but also often lasting, and which may react on the general configuration. The two qualifications thus exist, but are neither always clear nor always imperative. Above all neither ponderation nor regularity reigns between them. An entire context of personal and collective initiative modifies them. One feels that indeed factors come here to disturb what we would suppose arises from a two-part rhythm. And, a more serious thing, these are factors of different level: if some appear to us to express old collective antagonisms, and thus to orient the explanation toward the hypothesis of an organic equilibrium, others evidently arise from fantasy, from the event, from machination or from chance. All this works in diverse directions and gives the impression of an extreme contingency.

616 Are these anomalies peculiar to the Seksawa? And what should
one think about the most considerable one among them: the ab-
121 sence of declared. Imsifern in the system, if it were not in the
single a. Lh'sen canton, that is, among rather recent immigrants? Why this asymmetry, contrasting with the exact bipartism of all the groups that surround the Seksawa to the W., the E., and the S.? Is it necessary to suppose that this is a trait of rupture? The ancient expulsed populations, a. Gasa on one side, Demsira colonists on the other, or the even more ancient conquered ones: a. Sh'aq, a. Umgan, a. Chaîb, Ih'erdach, were they in their time arranged according to the classic figure of the chessboard? Mystery.

Another explanation that comes to mind would be that the extreme vigor of the tyrannical phenomenon in Seksawa during the twentieth century with /429/ its three great conquering amghar-s

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000 preceding notations will suffice to support a judgment, moreover above all critical. It is legitimate to conjecture a constant fluidity between denominations of groups habitually distinguished by the user as well as by the research worker. The surprising thing is not that interferences should be produced between agrarian or urban confraternities, corporations, territorial cadres and genealogical systems. It is that they should be so numerous. It is that they coexist with an evolution that belies them on many grounds. [171] Between forms such as tribe, confederation, league, çoff, leff, party, even qualifications within the hierarchies of the profane and of the sacred, the exchange has been perpetual in North Africa, and still continues.

Morphological Thresholds

616 182 [695] Let us return to the native interpretation. It brings together the fraternity of leff with that of blood or of the oath. This proximity may be attributed to the decadence of the types. But let us note that many of the traits that in our view distinguish these three notions amount to a morphological variation linked to the broadness of play. From the least broad cadre: this ground where, the patrimonies are organized, to the broadest: the whole section of the Moroccan South that covers the chessboard of the leagues, several thresholds are interposed. Each indicates a changing of social rhythm.

619 634 578 [613] As has been seen, on this side of the first threshold, the small taqbilt of the Haut-Atlas prevails. It forms its agnatic subdivisions without anything /437/ being interposed between their strife and its order. This is not to say that this strife, in certain respects, does not go beyond internal law. But the ikhs indeed has the feeling of consanguinity, and many of the conflicts that it has with the other ikhs-s are amenable to sworn law. The cadre of the taqbilt, although it carries within itself an explosive force, moreover owes to its agrarian correspondences an exemplary distinctness. (Opposite to this, the genealogical tribe never offers in North Africa, we believe, as pure an example.)

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619 634 But this privilege ceases at the borders of the canton. In the Atlas itself, everything that goes beyond the narrow law of the *taqbilt* obeys a movement that distorts significations and contours. This movement does not require centuries in order to act, although obviously its most considerable effects appear to us today only with the passage of time. A lifetime would be sufficient to see these transformations come about. Moreover, it might be said that any Maghrebi work, in order to be efficacious, must apply to the groups a technique *sui generis* of the changings of definition and contour. The "tribe" becomes league. Kinship, [616] initiation. Correlatively the individual escapes. The doubling of the procedural rate, which in the Atlas marks the passage from the internal law to the external law, gives way to other relations such as the *leff*. But one has entered the domain of incertitude and play. The most shifting conjunctions reflect the event, the tendency, the individual or collective desires. Studied from this angle, what would the montagnard history of the Moroccan "great caids" during the first quarter of the twentieth century not reveal? 000 But we shall be content with a more decanted /Fr. décanté/ example that of the Kabylia of the maréchal Randon.

This is a nervous people, long in contact with imperialisms with broad perspectives: Spanish, Turkish. The archaism and almost permanence of the cadre contrast with the mobility of an economy dependent for much on external contributions, therefore on travel and adventure. The compartmentalization of the country is worsened by an almost urban density of the inhabitant. All of this creates an original comportment in which the heritage of old structures and the unforeseen of modern initiatives are united. Now two stable elements of the Kabyle country, those whose definition consequently thrust itself on our first observers, are the gentilitial group, *takharrubt*, and a primary composite, called here *thaddert*, because its content is absorbed, it seems, in the visual fact of the bourg contiguity. It is absorbed there with even more rigor than anything analogous in the Sous, where the social unit does not coincide with that of habitat. But beyond this, what indecision! What in Arab country corresponds to the

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000 "tribe," the ᶜarch, is formed and unformed /438/ according to the political event. With stronger reason, the episodic aggregate of the tribes in taqbilt. Let us note this term. It is employed more exactly in Kabylia than in the Atlas, for there it keeps its philological sense of primary subdivision of the "people." This is the sense in which Ibn Khaldûn spoke of Almohade "groupings," qabâ'il, such as the Genfisa. However that may be, the Kabyle taqbilt has only circumstantial existence. The present electoral struggles see it play its role, just like the ᶜarch, and pierce the centenary alluvion of a public life in the French manner, in the direction of insidious, but powerful apparitions. The çoff-s work more broadly than the taqbilt, but in more diffuse, more abstract fashion. In certain cases they are identified with a ᶜarch, covering an entire section of mountain, as appears to have been the case under the Turks. But sometimes too they oppose the thaddert-s in reciprocal movements. The whole polarizes sometimes in two terms: the "upper" and the "lower," whose constancy up to our day is conjugated paradoxically with an availability of individual evolutions much keener than anywhere else in North Africa.

These Kabyle illustrations of a general phenomenon of variation carry in the case at hand some other information on the [619] [634] terminology of the groups. The Chleuh /Shluh/ taqbilt, as an aggregate of families, does not correspond to the taqbilt of the Djurjura /Djurdjura/, a broader, but incidental form. In the Mzâb, yet other differences. The qbîla is above all onomastic. It is conceived as a unit that has had its history, before the founding of the five towns. Its concentration in the urban habitat has undoubtedly reacted on its form. But all of its own tensions has not been effaced in it. Other Saharan towns with characteristic divisions, and less refined civilization, would permit comprehending a whole gamut of relations between the vitality of these groups and that of the city.

171 613 Indeed far, therefore, from the fact that the passage from the gentilitial order to that of the state presents itself everywhere with the privileged simplicity of the Haut-Atlas, the ikhs itself, or

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000 availability of course, of feint, or of hope. We see these confusions begin on the terrain, at the stage where a small political cell of the Haut Atlas bursts over two or three valleys. And what will become of these broader forms, which any knowledge, any Maghrebi action will necessarily meet on their path!

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Conclusion

121 Discordance of the Material and Social Aspects (1)

1. One will not be able to refrain, in this development, from value judgments. In spite of the economic analyses of our Second Part, on which it was believed one could support them, the undertaking is delicate. Cf. E. Durkheim, Les règles de la méthode sociologique /The rules of the sociological method/, 1895, and the distinction between the "normal" and the "anormal," pp. 74 sq., which it is proper, in my opinion, to pair with the recent attainments of "human ecology."

121 619 634 One might believe that the taqbilt of the Atlas, because of its clearness of foundations, its close liaison to a space, its logical rigor, finally its autonomy, arises directly from the ground, and that its structure owes nothing to the foreigner. But there is none so solitary, so defended by the country or the event that it does not reveal, in its form as well as in its substance, a sharing with the most distant Maghreb. Let us therefore carry forward the examination of any group of the Haut Seksawa. This little society is not determined by the milieu with the exactitude that would make one conjecture an immemorial peasant civilization.

182 Adaptation to the cadre is done by a perpetual mediocrity of the peopling and of the enterprises. Mediocrity indispensable to the weak equilibrium with a nature that, in the case of demographic

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Recourse To the External and To the Transcendent

619 634 182 The system of the taqbilt, far from being an immediate datum of analysis, appears, by this head, itself conditioned. As fiercely defended as it is, it never remains isolated. It is intelligible only as resultant. Not only has it been subjected to influences, but it is posed and is conceived of only in relation to exterior or superior entities (1).

[779] It adheres to a great monotheism, Islam. It is fond of the marvels of towns and of the plain, and avid to appropriate, while neutralizing them, innovations and progress, or simply singularities. This imbues it with enthusiasms, defiances, ambiguities, and above all unrest. It feels besieged. Its culture is transactional. Its sense of justice, although violent and original, has not escaped the touches of such a sentiment. The Seksawa order, this order with compression and explosion, is also an order that disguises itself, for it judges itself, and judges itself wrongly. The ritual life, from its external manifestations to its most intimate movements, is resolved into divisions compounding, unequally according to the levels, the local spontaneity with the external contribution.

182 In its topographical materiality, the Seksawa domain is inseparable from the Chleuh /Shluh/ ensemble. The same coefficient of painstaking, and almost systematic, variety that opposes customs from canton to canton, opposes the law of the Seksawa with that of this ensemble. Everything happens as if the personalities that we observe deep-rooted, and as though contracted, at the bottom of the valley grounds came from the rupture of a larger body. This perhaps explains a curious phenomenon: the fact that in this fragmentation, there has not been concordance between the law and the language. Their lines of variation do not

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1. Cf. the views of Marc Block on "feudal" societies, Ann. hist. soc., 1939, p. 14.

Pl. IX

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Cl. L. Berque

Tamd'a Ugenni (Iguntar)

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796

Cl. L. Berque

Panorama of the village of the ait Mh'nd

/The complete caption for Pl. IX is given on p. 656./

Plate VIII:

133 /On the left/ Benches at Usikis (Idma).
361 This colossal stairway continues toward the bottom, which
the rocks in the foreground hide. The houses of the village are
[592] glued to the slope. They are agglomerated by familial ensembles.

133 /On the right/ The Uwines timezgida (a. Lh'sen).
346 This "mosque" is a particularly redoubtable place of oaths.
695

241 Plate IX:
291 /At the top/ Tamd'a Ugenni (Iguntar).
516 This "ritual place," consisting of a simple cylinder of stones
778 and branches, plays an important role in the agrarian life.

/At the bottom/ Panorama of the village of the ait Mh'nd.
133 This is the largest agglomeration of the Seksawa: at the
162 same time, this little taqbilt concentrates to a remarkable de-
361 gree of synthesis, the density of habitat (600 grouped inhabitants)
619 and the social organization. One distinguishes in the village
634 some quarters corresponding to the grouped residences of each
613 ikhs, which is an almost unique case. The peak that dominates,
778 the "White Rocks," imellulen, is the site of an annual feast, with
anonymous sacred part. Perfection of tiers and horticulture.
796

Pl. X

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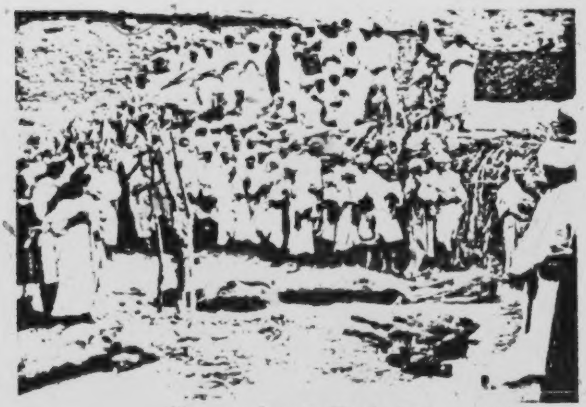

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Hecatomb to Lalla Aziza

It is the day of the sacrifice of July, tighersiwin yulyuz. Each victim is offered by a taqbilt. The amghar is the sacrificer. The gesture of the hands of those present is that of invocation.

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Invocation to Lalla Aziza

The foqra, after the sacrifice of the victims, make a ddu^{c}a. In chorus they repeat the invocations of the moqaddem, which call for baraka for the partipants.

/17 cont./
491 distinct part that their inhabitants took in the great historic
184 events of the Moroccan South.

491 Actually, it is on the road of the passes that the passage of
178 tribes and the action of the Makhzen /makhzan/ have had the
result, for centuries, of destroying the local institutions and of
making these natural routes, from a political point of view, a
sort of extension of the plain into the middle of the mountains.
[643] The Sultan has his harkas advance upon this line of stopping
places, marked out by casbahs, when he wishes to intervene in
•[619] the life of the country; leaders who serve the cause of the Empire are born and grow up there, while in solitude, in their inaccessible valleys, the independent tribes, on the other hand,
unite in order to see to the defense of their borders.

619 Such is the group formed by the tribes of the Glawa, Ourika,
491 Ghighaya, and Ouzgita of the Haut-Tifnout in the difficult re-
131 gion bounded on the east by the Tizi n Fedghat and on the west
by the Tizi n Test. A broad massif, whose summits reach
133 4,300 meters in altitude at the Wanoukrim and at the Likoumt,
dominates all this part of the mountains; it contains the glacial
lake of Ifni, and the snows of its plateaus give birth to torrents
everywhere. On the two versants narrow and encased valleys
break away, in which a man is as though crushed by a too-pow-
133 erful Nature. Nowhere in the Atlas does one experience so
strong an impression of isolation as in the villages of the Ourika
361 or of the Haut-Tifnout, lost under the giant walnut trees bathed
619 by the cold waters from the summits. The presence of the Telwet
491 pass alone gives some life to this harsh country, situated apart
from the great historic currents, and one understands that its in-
648 habitants, once subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/, had no role
other than to give their support to foreign leaders, masters of the
Haut-Dra or of the plain of Marrakech, or they put their stubborn
energy at the service of the masters of the great pass, called by
their ambitions to faraway enterprises in the steppes of the south.

491 Between the road that leads from the Nefis to the Tizi n Test
133 and the one that leads from Imi n Tanout to the Tizi Ma^{c}cho
there extends another region whose appearance is less harsh and
less wild.

/17 cont./
133 less wild. There the Atlas becomes /18/ more gentle and less
[137] hostile; to be sure, near the crests of the Erdouz, of the Igdad,
and of the Tichka it still retains a character of severe grandeur;
[361] the line of summits that the snow crowns until summer is re-
vealed to be even more noble and beautiful perhaps than on the
harsh plateau of the Wanoukrim; but forests of green oaks and of
cypress rise on the slopes, and the network of rivers and torrents,
at the edge of which crowd the villages, penetrates more deeply
into the heart of the mountains through the valleys of the
Ogdemt, the Aghbar, the Asif el Mal, and of the Seksawa. It
619 seems here that the union of man and nature is more intimate
182 and perfect, and that the dream of a Berbère /Berber/ kingdom,
isolated from the world, aware of the strength that the inhabit-
ants of the high valleys can make up when they succeed in
agreeing for an instant, forming a single alliance against the
foreigner of the plains, might have been born there. So this part
of the Deren has become one of the bastions of Berbère /Berber/
619 resistance. It was the small basin of Tinmel in the upper valley
175 of the Nefis that lent its cadre to the first efforts of the Almohade
tribes. It was the villages of the Seksawa that saw the birth of
the minor kings of the thirteenth century, whose power and spirit
of intrigue and enterprise sometimes made the Mérinides tremble
in Marrakech. Still in our day the Makhzen /makhzan/ has re-
mained powerless to subdue the last rebel tribes grouped around
the summits of the Tichka, and the efforts of the great kaids had
to stop at the threshold of the gorges that protect the entrance of
the territory of these republics, which have remained free at the
price of millenary efforts.

133 Beyond the Tizi Maᶜcho, the land of the Ida ou Tanan and
101 of the Haha prolongs to the Ocean that of the tribes of the Haut-
Atlas. The general conditions of life, peopling, and history
have given this region characteristics that easily distinguish it
from the rest of the Deren.

133 In this extreme part of the Atlas the great chain continues,
beyond the deep cut of the Oued /wadi/ of the Aït Mousi, only
by two lines of narrow and jagged crests, which reach the

/18 cont./

133 Atlantic to form two promontories and delineate the two bays of
Agadir and Cape Guir. Farther to the north, one no longer finds
high peaks, but only vast calcareous plateaus terminated toward
north and east by abrupt cliffs, between which wind the deep
gorges of the dry wadis. Still farther, toward Mogador, they are
the dry hills of the Haha, whose appearance /19/ brightens only
[137] on the banks of the Oued Qsob. The forest of argan trees and
tuyas /thuyas/ stretches from south to north over the whole coun-
try from the mountains to the banks of the Tensift. The sadness
and solitude that prevail there further add to the general desola-
361 tion. Life brightens up only in the hollow of the wadis, at the
133 points where the water crops out for an instant; then poor villages
crowd one another on the steep banks, while in the gorges of the
[137] wadis thick clumps of palm trees enlaced with vines come out of
the ravines. Elsewhere, on the plateaus, springs are almost ab-
[312] sent; each Berbère /Berber/ builds a house on an isolated hill and
[241] digs cisterns; in order to till, he clears the surrounding forest,
burning the trees and brush over large areas.

133 There is no difficult obstacle, especially in the north and in
the west of this country, that can stop the passage of tribes that
167 have come from the Sahara or from the Anti-Atlas, driven to-
• 619 ward the Gharb /Rharb/ by famine. Accordingly, this far zone of
the Atlas is peopled in large part by families originally from the
south. In the same way the Berbères /Berbers/ could not offer
any lasting resistance to the passage of the Sultan's harkas coming
from the north. The Haha, reduced to obedience long ago, have
thus become the faithful servants of the Empire, and they have
fought to make its power respected as far as the plains of the Sous,
of the Chtouka, and of the Ait Ba ᶜAmran. The Ida ou Tanan
alone, having taken refuge in the most inaccessible part of the
territory, have tried to preserve their liberties by staying away
from the roads of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

133 The mountain of the Sirwa, which the valleys surround so as
103 to draw a vast circle traced by the Zagmouzen, the Tifnout, the
Tidili, the Imini, and the ravines of the Aït ᶜAmer, also con-
stitutes a natural refuge, whose appearance is indeed such as to

/19 cont./
133 deserve the name of "Igherm" -- fortress -- which the Ait
[103] Waouzgit like to give it.

This strange mass, in reddish hues, is dominated by isolated
peaks that rise here and there in the middle of a huge volcanic
plateau. Basalt ridges profile their fantastic lines in the sky,
while at their feet large villages, dominated by immense store-
houses, live under a hot sun, in the vicinity of sources of water
fed by the melting of the snows of spring. It is on the flanks of
[361] this volcano that the confederation of the Aït Waouzgit has re-
mained established for long centuries. Having descended /20/
[619] from the plateau in order to colonize the valleys, the tribes of
the Sirwa have moreover mingled with those of the two great
chains in the vicinity, but without ever completely abandoning
their traditions and their own characteristics.

The various parts of the Anti-Atlas are more difficult to separate from one another. To the east the chain is so worn down that only a few peaks of eruptive rocks exist as witnesses. This is the country of the vast plateaus of the Zenaga and Souktana, whose lands would be fertile if the sky did not already have the inexorable limpidity of the Sahara.

Farther on, in the central Anti-Atlas, between the valley of
the Inda ou Zal and the territory of the Aït Abdallah and of the
Ilalen, the mountains rise to form the peaks of the Fidoust and
the Adrar Waklim at 2,200 meters in altitude, yet on the line of
the crests the plateaus extend in a gentle slope on the two ver-
[361] sants. Here again a man's life is hard; the best harvests are poor,
and only a few villages surrounded by almond trees prosper near
the summits and springs. Toward the Sahara the wadis hollow out
deep cuts, and the springs that sometimes appear in their dried-
up beds support palm groves already similar in their external ap-
pearance to the ones of the Bani.

133 In a country so difficult, the problem of material subsistence
181 dominates all others. It absorbs all forces, and, since local re-
sources remain insufficient, temporary emigration becomes a
182 pressing necessity. A man's energy is consumed in the course of
[166] this constant struggle; activity turns away from political life

/24/

Chapter II

000 The Population of the Moroccan South

I. The ancient peopling of the Sous (up to the eleventh century). -- II. The ethnic struggles of the eleventh and thirteenth centuries. -- III. The domination and the decline of the Arabs. -- IV. The interior displacements. -- V. Consequences of the settlement on the soil for the cohesion of the social groups. -- VI. Form of the human groupings (towns, villages, hamlets). -- VII. The house. -- VIII. The family. -- IX. The social classes. -- X. The economic life. -- XI. The religious life. -- XII. The intellectual life.

101 Isolated from the sea by the bar /Fr. barre, bar, bore, helm/, limited by the chains of mountains, inside which nature has provided men with inaccessible refuges, the Sous may appear at first sight to the eyes of a foreign observer as a region separated from the rest of Morocco, the habitat of a single human group of the same origin, which subsisted while keeping intact, within inviolate frontiers, its customs and its laws. The existence of an ethnic type with fairly well defined characteristics could, in ignorance of the history, maintain this illusion.
101 It happens , on the contrary, that the relative uniformity that
184 characterizes human life in the south of Morocco results from the
•619 intimate mixture of families and tribes of diverse origin, from
the repeated confrontation of invaders and autochthons, from the opposition of the sedentary peoples of the plains and mountains to the nomads coming from the desert by way of the western Anti-Atlas, the route of the oases of the Dra and of the Zagmouzen or the coastal route of the Haha.

128 The successive phases of the peopling of the Sous thus form
127 the hidden web of history. We shall try to point them out here,
by interpreting the often obscure and incomplete documents that
*175 have reached us; then we shall try to describe the most general
aspects of the existence of men in a land that has /unpaginated map appears here/ /25/ ended up by acquiring, after long internal struggles, a unity of language, beliefs, and culture.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 34]

2: Montagne

102
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P. 26	P. 27	P. 28	P. 29
P. 30	P. 31	P. 32	P. 33

Chart of positions of map 1.
[facing p. 26]

/Upper left corner of map facing p. 24 in the original source/

102
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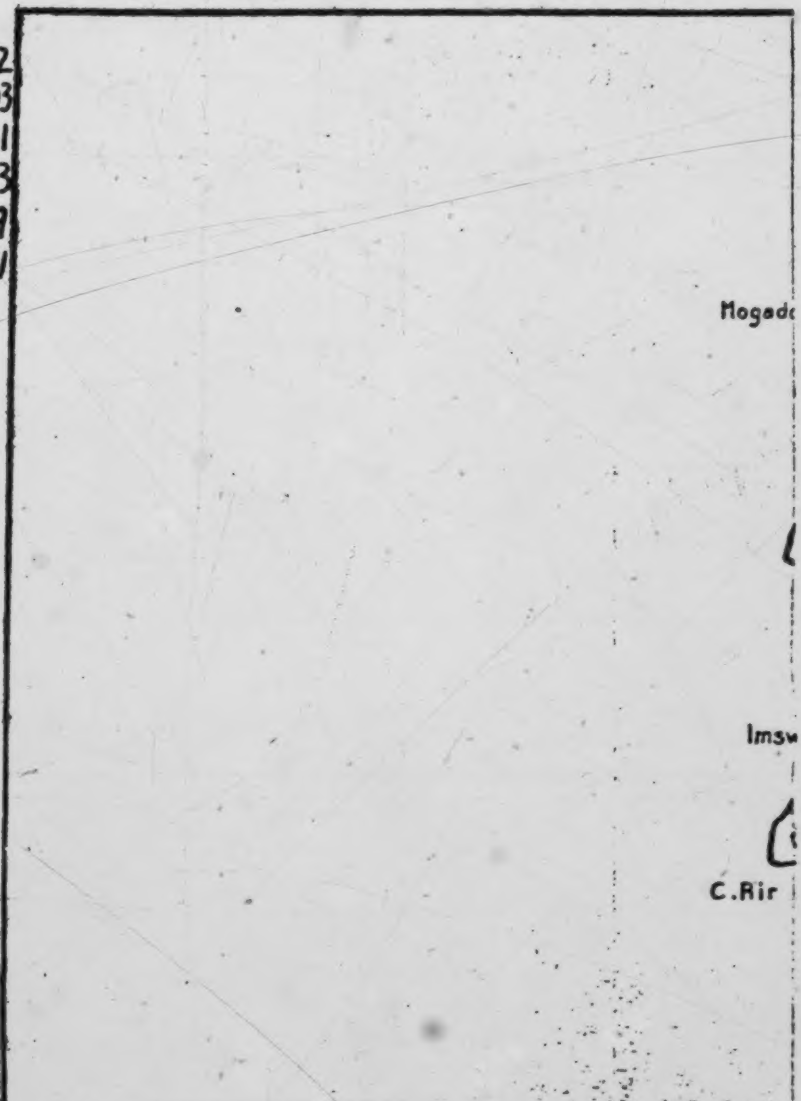
Mogad
Imsw
C.Rir

[Map 1]

/Upper left-of-center section of map facing p. 24 in the original source/

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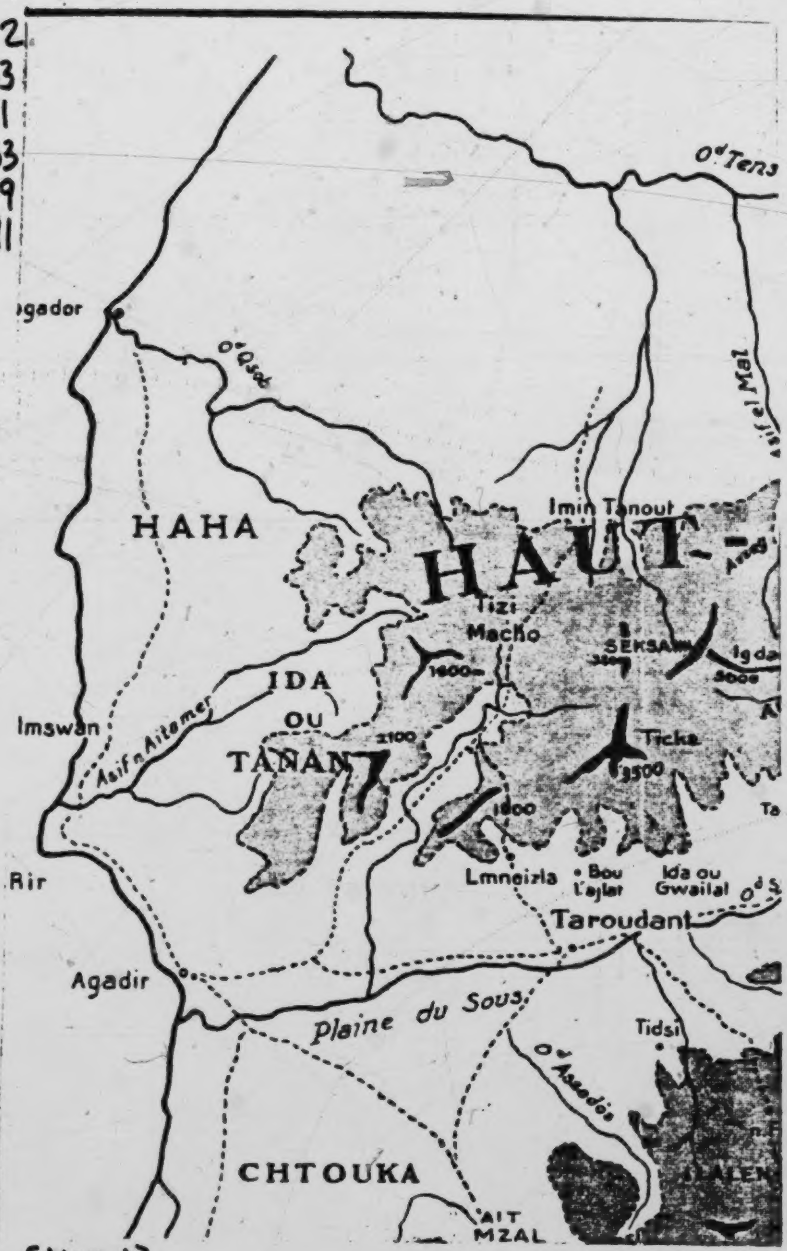
O^d Tens
gador
O^d Ksob
Asif el Mal
HAHA
Imin Tanout
HAUT-
Tizi
Macho
SEKSAW
Igda
1600
3000
IDA
OU
TANAN
2100
Imswan
Asif n Aitamer
Ticka
3500
1800
Ta
Lmneizla
Bou L'ajlat
Ida ou Gwailal
O^d S
Taroudant
Rir
Agadir
Plaine du Sous
Tidsi
O^d Assads
CHTOUKA
AIT MZAL
ALALEN

[Map 1]

/Upper right-of-center section of map facing p. 24 in the original source/

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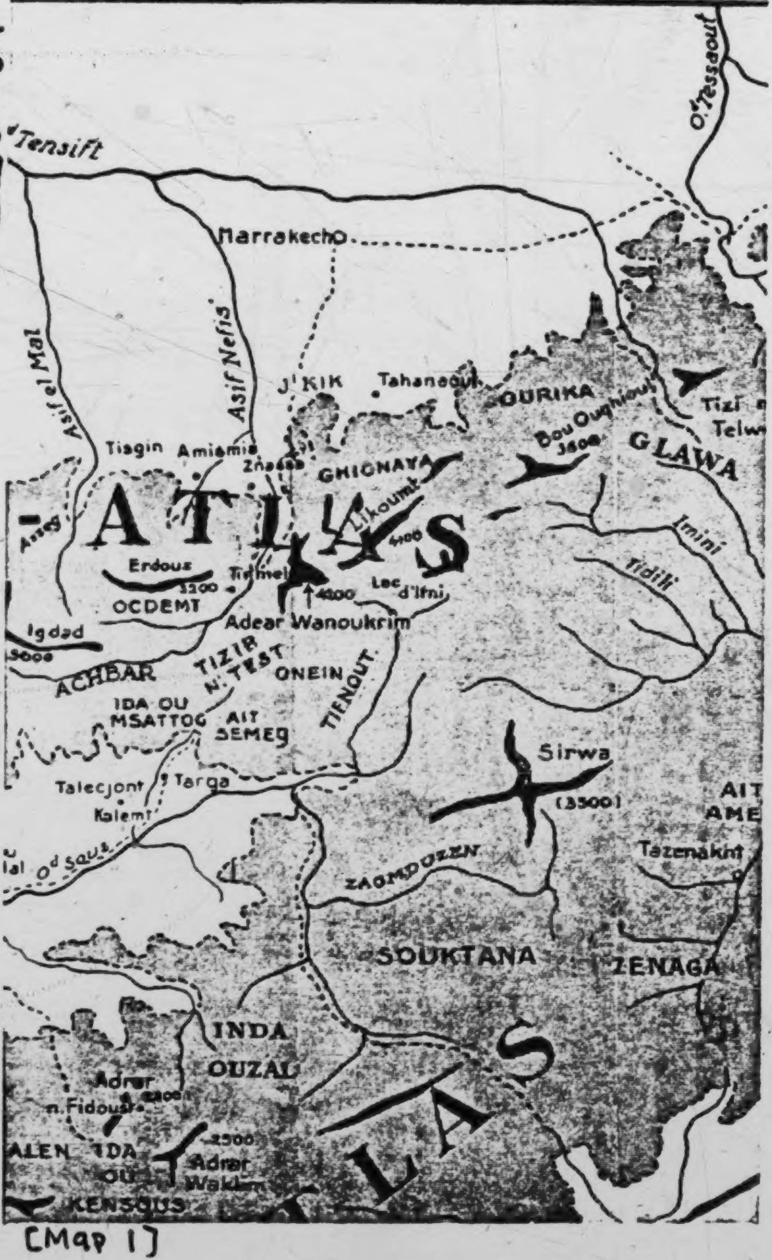
O^d Tensift
O^d Tessaout
Marrakech
Asif el Mal
Asif Nefis
J^l KIK
Tahanaout
OURIKA
Bou Oughiou
3600
Tizi n
Telw
GLAWA
Tisgin
Amiamia
Znaga
GHIGNAYA
Likoumt
4100
ATLAS
Erdouz
3200
Tinmel
4100
Lac d'Ifni
OCDEMT
Igdad
3000
Adear Wanoukrim
Imini
Tidili
ACHBAR
TIZIR N TEST
ONEIN
TIFNOUT
IDA OU MSATTOG
AIT SEMEG
Talecjont
Targa
Kalemt
Sirwa
(3300)
AIT AME
Tazenakht
O^d Sous
ZAGMOUZEN
SOUKTANA
ZENAGA
INDA OUZAL
Adrar n. Fidoust
2300
2500
Adrar Wakim
ALEN
IDA OU KENSOUS
ATLAS

[Map 1]

2: Montagne--29 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Upper right corner of map facing p. 24 in the original source/

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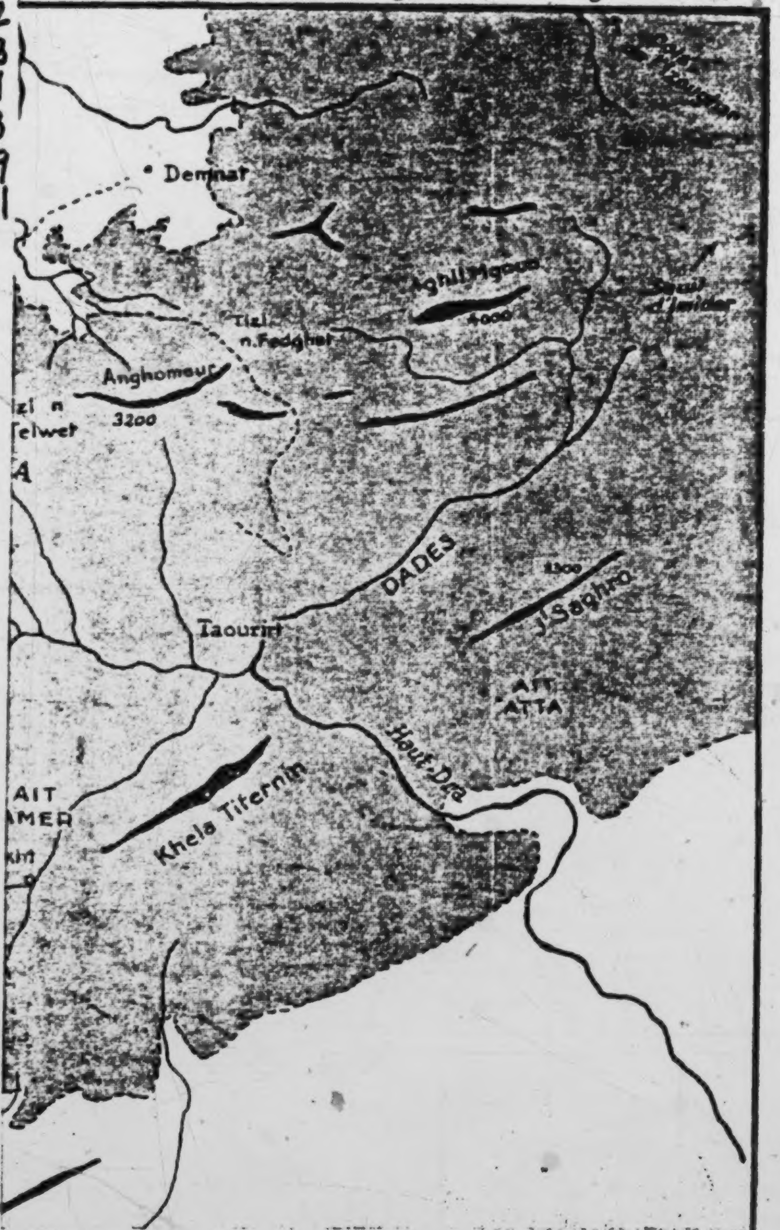

Demnat
Aghil Mgoun
4000
Seuil d'Imider
Tizi n.Fedghat
Anghomour
3200
Tizi n Telwet
A
DADES
2300
J. Saghro
Taourirt
AIT ATTA
Haut Dra
Khela Titernin
AIT AMER
kirt

[Map 1]

/Lower left corner of map facing p. 24 in the original source/

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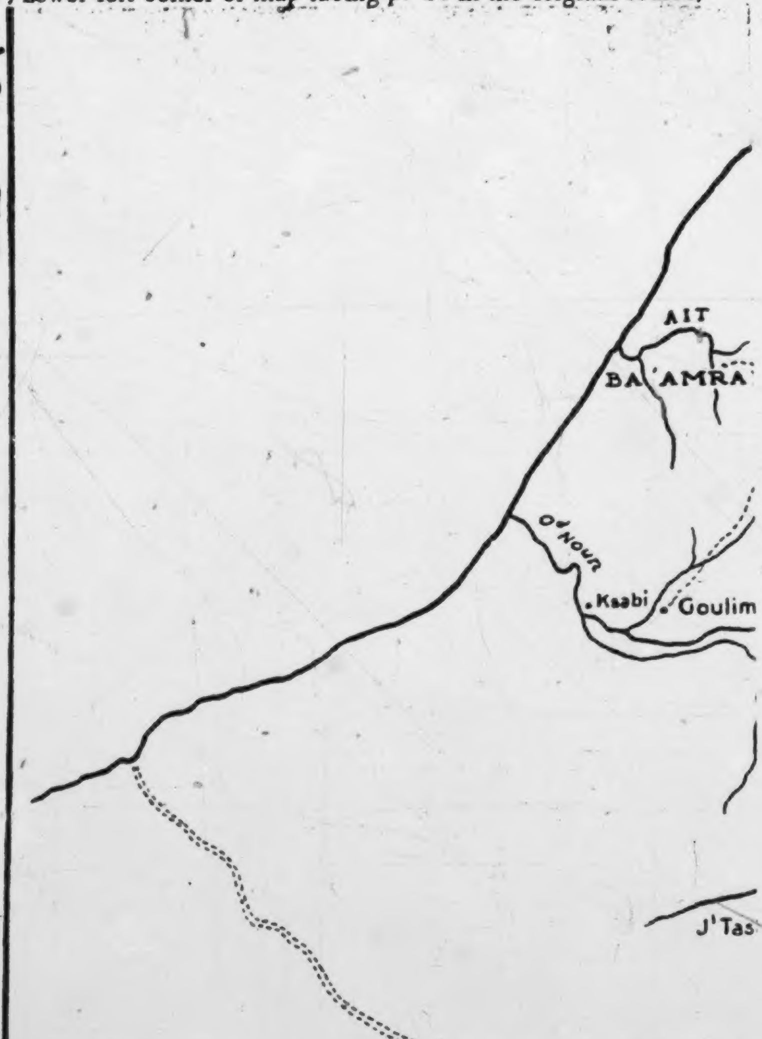
AIT
BA AMRA
Od Noun
Kaabi
Goulim
J'Tas
Od Dra

[Map 1]

/Lower left-of-center section of map facing p. 24 in the original source/

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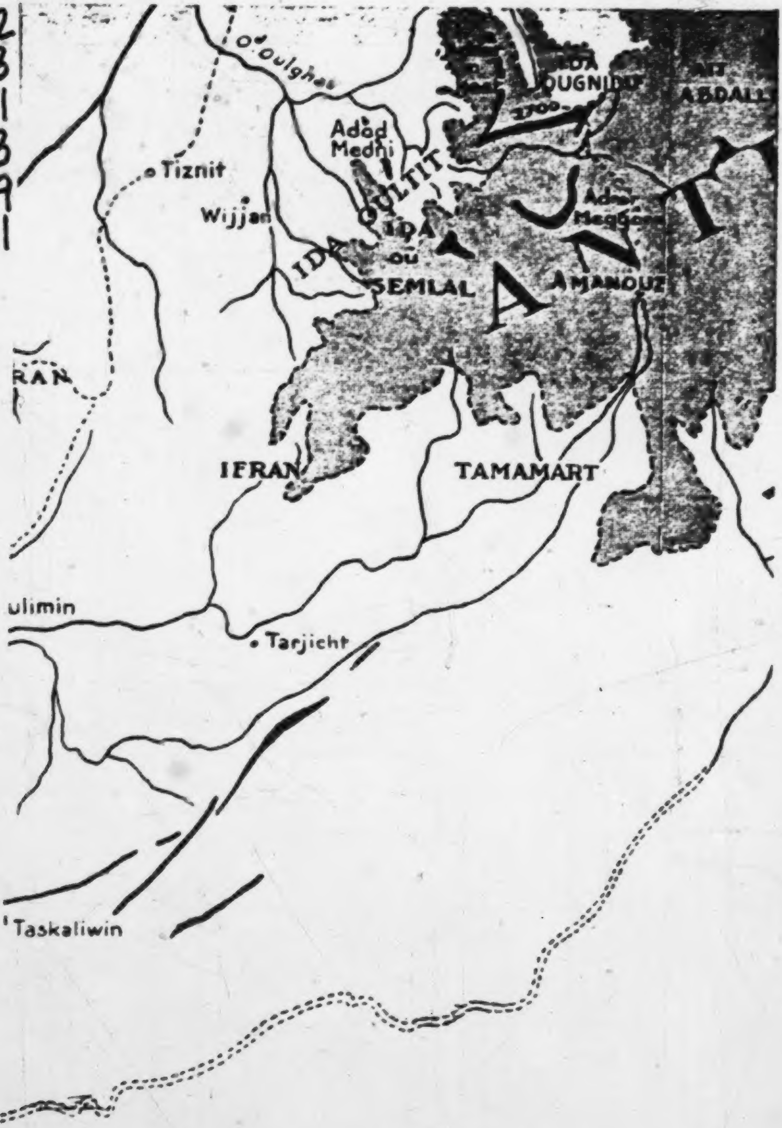
O. Oulghas
IDA OUGNIDIF
AIT ABDALL
1700
Adod Medni
IDA OULTIT
Tiznit
Wijjan
Adar Meggorn
IDA ou SEMLAL
A N T I
AMANOUZ
RAN
IFRAN
TAMAMART
ulimin
Tarjicht
Taskaliwin

[Map 1]

/Lower right-of-center section of map facing p. 24 in the original source/

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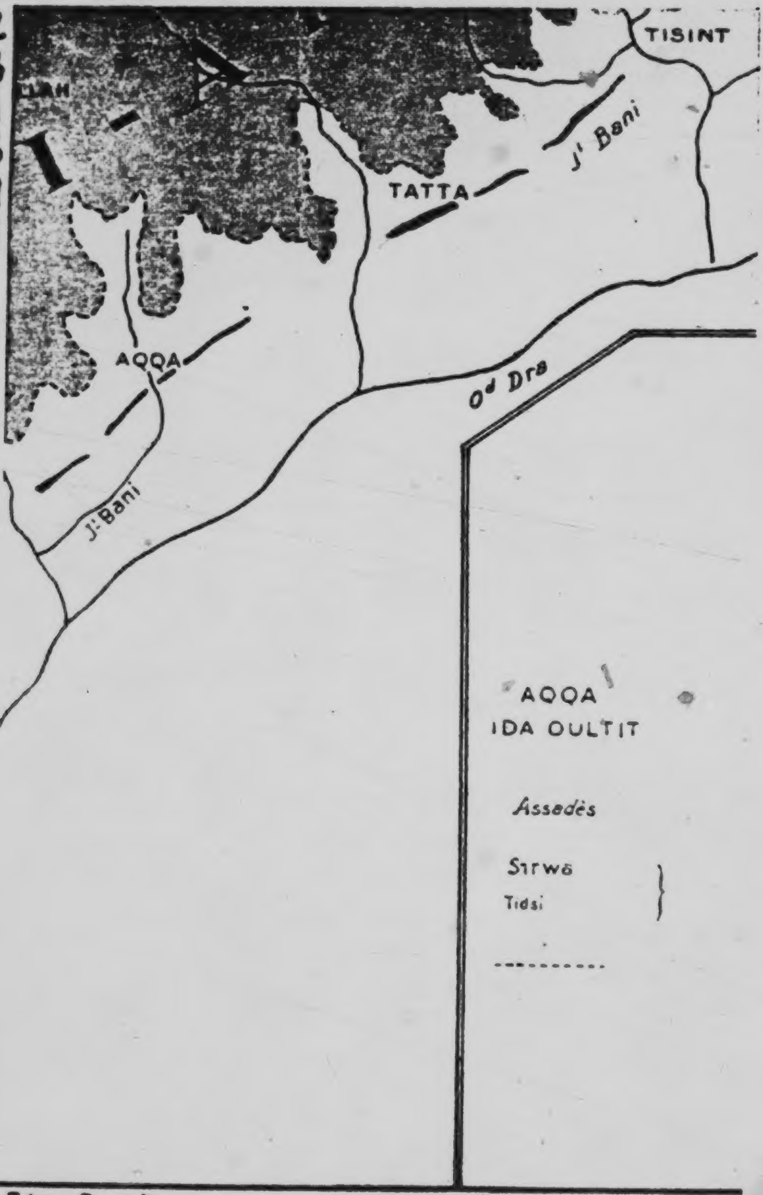
TISINT
J' Bani
TATTA
AQQA
J' Bani
Od Dra
AQQA
IDA OULTIT
Assadès
Sırwō
Tidsi

[Map 1]

/Lower right corner of map facing p. 24 in the original source/

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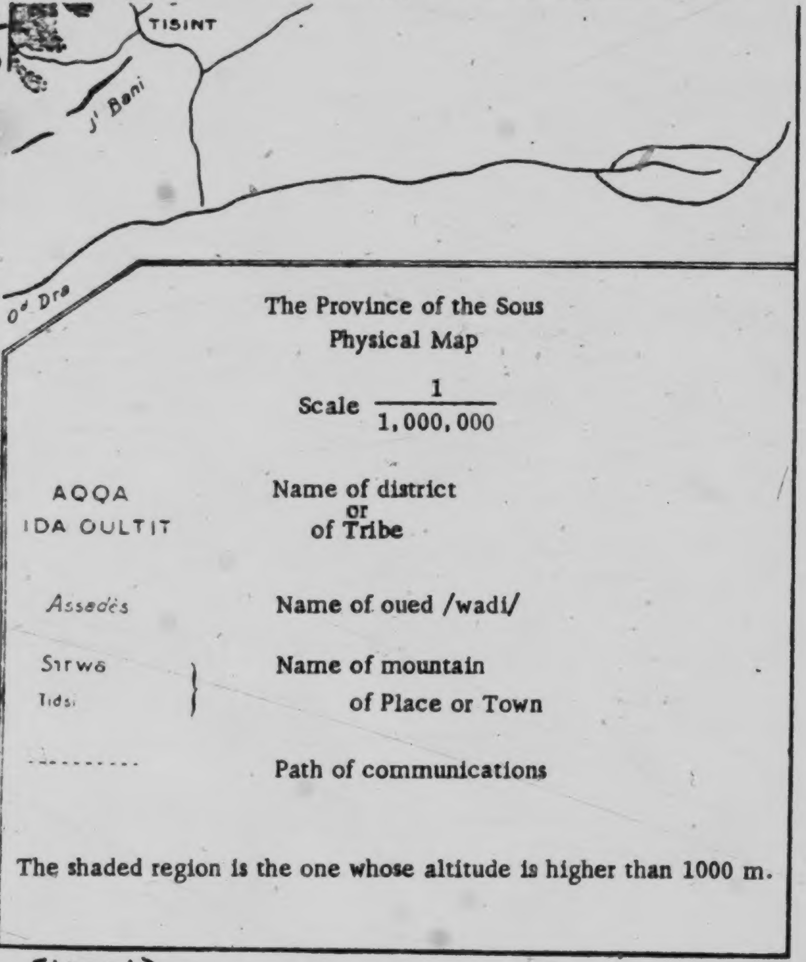
TISINT
J' Bani
O' Dra
The Province of the Sous
Physical Map
Scale 1/1,000,000
AQQA
IDA OULTIT
Name of district or of Tribe
Assadès
Name of oued /wadi/
Sirwa
Tidsi
Name of mountain
of Place or Town
Path of communications
The shaded region is the one whose altitude is higher than 1000 m.

[Map 1)

/35 cont./

*175 knowledge that they have of the past; in our time even the term
648 Masmouda is no longer understood in the Deren except by
101 scholars. In the Anti-Atlas /36/ one no longer designates by the
[616] name of "Gezzoula" a large Berbère /Berber/ family, but simply a political party, a "leff" /alliance/ that is opposed to that of
*175 the "Souktana." The history of the Sous is now filled with the
•619 struggle of social groups much weaker than in former times: they
648 are confederations, tribes, or even simple fractions of tribes, who contend for pre-eminence among themselves. New alliances
*631 are established in which the disposition of territories doubtless plays a more important role than the idea of kinship. In proportion as the conquest and appropriation of the soil by the Berbères /Berbers/ goes on, it seems that the earth itself holds back men, imprisons them within more and more confined natural frontiers; the geographical limits of the small states thus constituted break up the unity of those large, formerly homogeneous masses whose combats gave us the hidden explanation of the events of the upper Middle Ages.

619 There is thus produced a kind of reconstruction of Berbère
*631 /Berber/ society from within: minuscule social units concentrate all the political activity of the sedentary peoples, in the regions where formerly, doubtless, bonds of ethnic solidarity united over great distances the tribes in movement.

173 At the same time there is weakened little by little the
178 Berbère /Berber/ tradition, common to all the peoples of the
619 Orient, of eponymous ancestors by whom is explained the al-
*631 liance of the elements out of which are formed the large con-
*634 federations and the tribes (1);
829

one can no longer imagine in our day, as in the time of Ibn

---

[113] 1. Masqueray describes a similar situation in Kabylia (Formation des cités chez les sédentaires de l'Algérie /Formation of cities among the sedentary peoples of Algeria/, Paris, 1886, p. 102).

178 /36 cont./
173 Khaldoun, scholarly genealogies to explain the relations of the
• 619 tribes among themselves; there exists only the belief, rather
*631 vague, to be sure, in the blood brotherhood of all the members
*634 of the small cantons among which are found the formerly more
829 coherent ethnic masses now divided into fractions. Again we
shall see how the constant bringing of foreign elements inside the
177 frontiers of the autonomous mountain States ceaselessly alters
602 even more the primitive idea of kinship, which tends to disap-
829 pear to make way for the solidarity of families united in the possession of the same valley.

161 VI. Form of the human groupings (towns, villages, hamlets). -- Henceforth settled on the soil, the population of the Sous is concentrated, /37/ according to the regions, in towns, in large villages, in scattered hamlets.

000 In truth, the towns, Marrakech, Mogador, Taroudant, although peopled in the majority by Berbères /Berbers/, have remained foreign organisms in spite of the importance of the political and economic ties that unite them to the tribes of the vicinity.

Marrakech /Marrakesh/, the largest town in Morocco, whose population in our time reaches 150,000 inhabitants, is doubtless a powerful urban center that exerts its attraction on the tribes farthest from the Sous. But this town, founded by the Almoravides on a site chosen by them far from the Atlas in order to escape the attacks of the Masmouda, has remained, in spite of the efforts of the Almohade and Saadian dynasties, a simple residence of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and a permanent big market. The numerous families originally from the South who are settled there work at only humble trades and submit to the laws of this Mussulman city without ever having tried to modify them according to the peculiar genius of Berbèrie /Barbary/.

632 Mogador, constructed in the eighteenth century to serve as
[504] port for the tribes of the South, neighboring the Atlantic, under
[643] the permanent control of the Sultan, is a still more artificial
[162] creation. The Chleuhs /Shluh/ who inhabit it, whose commercial

/39 cont./

361 632 political units opposed to one another (1).

1. The character of the internal divisions of these small units is nowhere more apparent than at Tisgin of the Gedmiwa, where a dozen hamlets forming four different political groups are juxtaposed in the center of an olive grove.

361 184 The Berbère /Berber/ villages are not all alike. When one leaves the plains to go into the mountains, one sees first of all the villages of the Dir following one another on the first slopes, then the small hamlets of the valleys and sometimes, still higher, several big villages of the summits.

361 712 184 On the Dir, the human groupings often take on a defensive aspect. The houses press against the flank of the mountain, while the crops stretch out on the plain. When security permits, there exist at the same time a mountain village solidly constructed of stone and, in the middle of the irrigated crops and the "bour" /unirrigated lands/, some hastily built "ᶜazib," where the flocks and field workers take shelter. If the Makhzen /makhzan/ makes peace reign in the country, these light constructions of the plain soon become true villages in their turn (2).

2. The double establishment on plain and mountain of the Dir tribes can be observed especially among the Gedmiwa, Dwiran, and Mzouda. Mountain villages and plains azibs often hear the same name. The tribe's territory in the Atlas is thus completed by a broad cultivated expanse in the Azaghar. The internal fractionizing and the political divisions of the tribe that exist in the mountains are found as if projected in the plain, and the same struggles are carried on there between the same parties. When insecurity appears and

[578]
•[619]

/48 cont./
556 always reigned. But at the same time the life of the workers in
184 the gardens, the "khemmas," is more and more miserable. Only
511 a temporary emigration to the towns of Morocco, to France, or
[167] to Algeria enables the adult men to earn, by hard work, the
[464] money necessary for the subsistence of their families remaining
in the country.

779 XI. The religious life. -- The Sous is -- the rest of its his-
tory will make us understand by what circumstances -- profound-
ly subject to Islamic religious influences. The millenary work
[346] of the reformers, leaders of brotherhoods, and holy personages
whose whitewashed domes so often strike the traveler's eye in this
country has been crowned with success, and one would look in
vain as far as the farthest valleys for a hamlet without a mosque.
795 /49/ The major religious duties, prayer, fasting, alms, are
observed with care. Even the pilgrimage is frequently performed
[788] by the notables, merchants, and well-to-do men, especially in
[554] the tribes of the plains and mountains of the South, among whom
[184] an ardent attachment for religion persists up to the present, ac-
[798] companied besides by hate and scorn for the Christian.

But whatever may be the attachment of the Sous Berbères
/Berbers/ to Islam, they nevertheless like to express it within the
narrow boundaries of their little states. They reserve for their
[554] marabouts, scholars, and talebs /public scribes/ the gain from
their tithes.

779 As in all the rest of North Africa the cult of the saints mani-
776 fests itself here in its familiar aspects so often described. One
[171] can even observe that the veneration of the Chleuhs /Shluh/ for
their marabouts can be modeled on the various forms of their
[792] social organization. We shall soon see the importance of these
*[631] small superimposed states, which are the fraction, similar to a
canton, the tribe, whose territory embraces several valleys, the
•[619] confederation, which sometimes extends over a whole versant of
the mountain. Now it may be said that each of these groups pos-
776 sesses its patron saints. For example, the most venerated sanc-
778 tuaries, those of Moulay Brahim of the Kik, Lalla ᶜAziza of the
619

/49 cont./
776 Seksawa, Sidi ou Sidi of Taroudant, Sidi Sa^{c}id Ou ^{c}Abd en
[778] Na^{c}im of the Haha, and especially Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa of the
•[619] Tazerwalt, see numerous tribes of the same race assemble each
*[631] summer around their roofs of green tiles. These saints thus belong
to very large social groups made up of one or several confederations.
[782] It is they whom one invokes from a great distance
to implore their protection or swear certain vengeance on an
[778] enemy. Kaids and chiefs driven from their homes, assassins in
flight, come to seek refuge near their tombs, and the poets who
address themselves to a large audience do not fail to call off
their names before improvising their songs.

792 The marabouts of the tribes are less famous, but their role
[619] remains considerable. They have often left near their tombs
numerous descendants, heirs of their "baraka" /Berber term indicating
[778] the quality of holiness/, who are invoked as arbitrators
695 in internal struggles. Their qoubbas /kubbas/ are the rendezvous
671 of the coswearers whom Berbère /Berber/ law requires to assemble
in cases of murder or theft.

776 Finally come the saints of the cantons and villages, whose
789 /50/ names are sometimes obscure and enigmatic. The latter
[778] sometimes reveal their presence only by the existence of magic
trees, sacred springs, or simple piles of stones. But their usefulness
is no less. They protect the harvests, frighten thieves, and
people put under their protection the cut wood, the plows, or, on
the coast, the oars of the boats and the nets; they make the walnuts
and olives ripen, provided that people come occasionally to
celebrate near them a common meal accompanied by dances and
songs. Little girls come to sleep on their tombs, in order to learn
how to spin without effort; married couples, mounted on a mule,
turn around them seven times in order to escape bad influences.
[173] It is through these unchronicled minor saints that the bond of Berbère
/Berber/ Islam with the ancient beliefs, preserved more faithfully
by the memory of the women than by that of the talebs, becomes
manifest.

771 As a matter of fact the new religion has not succeeded in
178 making the old naturistic cults of former times disappear

/58 cont./

*175 In spite of this progress of sherifism, the Sous then was doubtless not entirely peaceful or orthodox, people indulged in furious /59/ combats even into the mosques; the use of fermented beverages was constant, and it was even said that in the mountains, in a region near the one inhabited at present by the Ida ou Izimmer, the tribes secretly worshiped a ram, probable vestige of a Libyc cult (1).

•[619]

[113] 1. The fraction of the Ida Ou Izimmer -- in Berbère /Berber/, the sons of the ram -- in our day is part of the tribe of the Ida Ou Mhamoud in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ of the North of Taroudant. Cf. H. Basset, Quelques notes sur l'Ammon Libyque /"Some Notes on the Libyc Ammon"/ (Mélanges R. Basset /R. Basset Miscellany/, Paris, 1923).

There is nothing surprising in the fact that the rigorists sometimes hurled anathema on the Atlas of the Masmouda and that people repeated the hadith by which the Prophet announced that on the day of the resurrection all this region would be "led into hell with all its inhabitants just as the bride is led to her husband" (2).

[113] 2. Ibn Khaldoun, Histoire des Berbères /History of the Berbers/, Vol. I, p. 563.

At least the Moroccan South seems to us at this epoch, before the disorders caused by the conquests of the Almoravides, to be a prosperous region, well cultivated and peopled with towns. There were, to the north of the Atlas, on both sides of the mountain of the Kik, Neffis, the town with the gardens, and Aghmat, the Idrisite capital, which had been governed previously by Berbère /Berber/ magistrates changed each year; on the South versant, Igli and Taroudant, at the intersection of the mountain routes, Tamedelt in the Anti-Atlas, Massat in the plain and on the Noun /Nun/, the oases of Noul Lemta and Ifri. The coast was actively

/128 cont./

133 Toward the South, on the contrary, the sudden fall of the /129/ rampart of the Atlas allows us to perceive almost at our feet the interior plain of the Sous and of the Chtouka bordered by the mountains of the Anti-Atlas; to the East, the two chains seem to meet at the bottom of the Sous valley to form the strange mass of the Sirwa volcano.

133
*631
619 While showing us the line of the summits of the Atlas, our companions from the high valleys will indicate to us without hesitation three groups of populations of unequal importance, which have preserved their independent institutions up to our day. Very far from our observation post, between the sea and the Bibaoun pass, stands the confederation of the Ida Ou Tanan, attached for centuries to its republican organization. At our feet exists a huge mountain region remaining free, which embraces the double fan of torrents descending from the two versants of the Tichka; this territory brings together all the tribes of the former confederation of the Genfisa, to whom have been added some fractions of the Gedmiwa at the foot of the Igdad. Far to the East it is the little communities of the Aït Waouzgit, lost on the flank of the Sirwa, in the midst of the conquests of the Glawa, and which in a miraculous isolation still preserve an autonomy that is precarious but rather close to their independence of former times. Finally, the Anti-Atlas, whose capricious line masks the desert from us, also possesses, especially in its western part, between the summits of the Jebel Kest and the sea, numerous tribes that obstinately remain attached to their traditions. They oppose the undertakings of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and the great chiefs with a resistance that up to the present no one has yet been able to break.

*631
619 IV. The life of the Berbère /Berber/ republics. -- Let us try to understand the peculiar physiognomy of each of these bastions in which the Berbères /Berbers/ have concentrated their efforts in order to escape the conquest of their country so often attempted

[361]
[131] by the sultans or mountain lords. In a region of difficult access, in the middle of the great tabular plateaus that prolong to the south the region of the Haha, or on the last jagged crests of the

/129 cont./
*631 Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ in the vicinity of the Ocean, the con-
•619 federation of the Ida Ou Tanan has united for several centuries
[361] around the tomb of a venerated marabout, Sidi Brahim ou ᶜAli,
some thirty fractions determined at all times to defend their in-
[131] dependence. Divided into three equal tribes, which have re-
tained their autonomy and their particular constitution, /130/ it
forms a balanced organism whose true bond appears to be the
will to resist any attempt at foreign penetration. In the East of
[178] the territory it is the Aït Ou ᶜazzoun, the ones best protected
from external influences in the most mountainous region; they
have kept the traditional political regime of councils of notables,
who still each year, following a precise ceremonial, according to
rites several times secular, carry out a circuit of justice through-
out the country, in order to penalize crimes and offenses and to
settle all disputes. In the West the Aït Tinkert, commanded for
at least a century by independent chiefs to whom the title of
"amghar" is given, assisted by minor village chiefs who are loyal
to them, border the coastal caravan route and jealously prohibit
foreigners from entering the country. The last group of the South
is made up of minuscule units that sometimes govern themselves
as small republics, like the Aït Wanoukrim and the Iberouten,
sometimes obey, like the Ifesfasen, "amghars" whose authority
is tempered by assemblies.

The Ida Ou Tanan, shut up in a voluntary isolation, thus
[648] form a striking contrast with the subject region of the Haha, administered through our good offices, whose trails today advance as far as the frontier of these irreducible montagnards. They seem like late witnesses of a past long forgotten. Nevertheless this contrast has not always existed; in former times, the oldest old men of the country still remember, the turbulent tribes of the South of the Haha also used to live in a state close to independence. The great kaid El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi had had to bend them to his authority before leading them to the conquest of the Sous, and, later, each time that the authority of the Makhzen /makhzan/ weakened, the Ida Ou Tghoumma, Aït ᶜAmer, Aït Aᶜissi, Ida Ou Bouzia evinced for their ancient customs an

/130 cont./

*631 attachment proved by incessant revolts. Then, in the course of
• 619 their "siba," one would see the councils of notables reappear, known by the name of "ineflas" /sic/ or "Aït Arbaᶜin," who resuscitated the old Berbère /Berber/ organization and, when necessary, united some of the Ida Ou Tanan with their free neighbors. Moreover, sometimes during the great periods of anarchy,
[178] such as were produced upon the death of the Sultans and the appearance of pretenders in the various provinces of the Empire, control by the Makhzen /makhzan/ was so /131/ incomplete that in the course of the "siba" one would see the ancient traditions flower again at a single stroke over immense areas. In vain the presence of Arab groups dispersed among the Haha and in the Sous plain disturbed the Berbère /Berber/ peopling; in spite of the government extended from the plains by sheiks subject to the kaids for centuries, in the South the rebel movement won over the Ksima and Mesgina and extended by degrees across the Chtouka plain up to the boundary of the Anti-Atlas, which the sherifian policy had never actually approached. During this period of liberty, each tribe re-established its political council and restored, imitating it in its own way, the organization of the fractions of the Ida Ou Tanan; thus, until the arrival of the Sultan's harka, throughout this coastal region, the independent Berbérie /Barbary/ of the plain of the South was restored.

The tribes of the Tichka have still more originality than the Ida Ou Tanan. Never in the course of history, as we have seen, did the former Makhzen /makhzan/ really penetrate into this difficult region. From the minor kings of the Seksawa, who indeed seem to have personified the resistance to the Almohade and Mérinide dominations in the thirteenth century, up to the sheiks and preachers who, under the Saadians, revived on the contrary the memory of the Mahdi of Tinmellel in order to fight better against the power of the Sultans, an effort of obstinate resistance has kept the populations of the high valleys in isolation.

The spectacle that would await us, if we could leave our high observation-post for an instant to visit the territory of one of these tribes farthest away from the plains held by the Makhzen

/131 cont./
*631 /makhzan/ or the great chiefs, would merit being compared with
•619 the one that we discovered first of all in the footsteps of our first
guides loyal to the kaids.

*631 Here, in fact, the villages that are tiered on the sunny
*634 slopes of the torrents, near immense walnut trees irrigated by
619 the gushing waters of the Atlas, do not know houses of sheiks or
caliphates. In these valleys one would try in vain to distinguish
[361] the dwelling of the poor man from that of the rich. Each of
[342] these little mountain cantons forms a separate state that a council
administers. Gathered on a terrace, all clothed in brown wool,
the notables gravely debate among themselves, for /132/ long
hours, the interests of their villages; no one raises his voice, and,
seeing them, one would not be able to discover their president, a
timid old man who has been given for one year the mission of carrying
out their decisions and who is greeted by the title of "moqaddem" /mokaddam/. Their judgments are inspired by a custom
[671] that they hold from their ancestors without modifying it; they
punish crimes, stop disputes, impose the most severe penalties on
thieves. Their concern is gladly directed toward the protection
of the crops and pastures. In every circumstance they watch
jealously to see that the interests of the patriarchal families,
whose heads they are, are precisely respected. Then, their deliberation ended, after a prayer recited together, they separate
and go to supervise a corvée from a distance.

462 The humble tableaux of the life in these villages in the high
184 mountains show us that the existence of the independent Berbères
/Berbers/ of the summits does not differ from that of their
512 brothers of the Rif or of the Kabylie /Kabylia/. Here all the
[171] women are assembled in order to do the transporting of the manure together. Adorned with their festive apparel, rich and poor,
[482] young and old place on their heads large doum baskets filled with
the village manure and descend, singing, in order to take the
fertilizer to all the little fields that border the torrent. Another
[653] day all the men assemble, under the direction of the notables, in
221 order to repair the séguias or the souk /sook/ roads. Then, at the
233 end of spring, in all these small anarchical and happy republics,

/136 cont./

*631 traditional quarrels of the fractions of the high mountains, stir
*634 about in their minuscule states; they patiently wait for a favor-
[578] able occasion for having the authority that they have acquired recognized for their profit. Thus the last stage of the political evolution of this high-mountain region will be realized by submission and the direct recognition of their power by the Makhzen /makhzan/ (1).

[648] 1. Since the French penetration in the Atlas has been accentuated, the minor chiefs of the Seksawa have submitted directly, without passing through the agency of the Bouaboud chiefs, to our bureaus of native affairs in 1927. The Ida ou Tanan followed their example a few months later.

*631 Without having the importance of the independent group of
*619 the Tichka, whose state permits us to understand the whole evo-
121 lution of the Atlas of the Masmouda, since we can observe there all the phases of the political transformation of the tribes, the autonomous fractions of the Sirwa nevertheless afford particular
[178] interest. They represent in our day the only vestige of ancient institutions preserved within the great command of the Glawa and
[174] help us to find again what the social organization of this whole region was before the rapid and destructive conquest of 1913.

*631 It is thanks to their isolation that the small groups of pasto-
*634 ralists of the Ikhzamen, Aït Maghlif, Aït ᶜAbdallāh, Aït Qalla,
619 in the confederation of the Aït Waouzgit, have up to now escaped the total ruin that struck the republics of the neighboring valleys.
[669] As a matter of fact, near the summits of the Sirwa efforts of re-
[712] sistance to the political transformation were concentrated around large "agadirs" similar to the fortresses of the Anti-Atlas, which enclose at the same time the citadel, the mosque, the general
*634 storehouse, and even the bank of these little rude cities. But before the subjugation of the country, many cantons of the Aït

/137 cont./

114 The authority of the more or less independent "amghars" appeared
*634 to him then to be predominant, but without going so far
*631 as to suppress the existence of the assemblies, for the chiefs'
authority must be used lightly in order to exist. "Tribes, districts,
642 villages," he tells us, "live, some under a despotic regime,
• 619 others under a democratic regime. The first are governed
by families in which supreme power with the title of sheik is
hereditary: such are the Aït Amer, the Zenaga, the Mezgita.
The authority of these sheiks is not burdensome for their subjects;
more or less close relatives of a large number of them, it is necessary
for them to treat these /138/ natural allies tactfully. Besides,
it is to their interest not to offend anyone; they allow those
under their jurisdiction great freedom and ask of them only three
things: to pay a trifling tax, to follow them when they wage war,
not to fight, pillage, or steal too much among themselves; this is
permitted only with strangers. As for the rest, complete license"
... Such is what de Foucauld calls the "despotic regime." "As
for the democratic regime, the tribes or districts that have
adopted it possess it with the most diverse nuances. Among some,
[184] such as the Ilalen, the Iberqaqen, the system established in the
North prevails; fractions, tribes, villages are governed by the
assembly of all their members. Elsewhere, as in the qsars of
Tisint, of Tatta, the assembly keeps sovereign power in its hands
and entrusts the executive power to a sheik whom it elects; sometimes
it ceaselessly carries it from the one to the other. Certain
tribes, such as the Ida Ou Blal, the Aït Ou Mribet, the Isaffen,
are divided into fractions, each having at its head a family in
which the dignity of sheik is hereditary. Sometimes the power of
these chiefs is quite great, as among the Aït Ou Mribet and Isaffen;
sometimes, as among the Ida Ou Blal, their only prerogative
is to lead their brothers in combat" (1).

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1. De Foucauld, Reconnaissance au Maroc /Reconnaissance in Morocco/, pp. 91-92.

/138 cont./

114 Thus we see the same diversity of institutions that the west-
*631 ern Atlas presents to us attested to in the eastern part of the Sous
*634 region by the most scrupulous of the observers of the South of
Morocco; only the violent conquest of the Glawa masks in our
day, with jealous care, the recent ruin. Otherwise it would suffice for us to cross, in the footsteps of Foucauld, the central Anti-Atlas in order to find again behind the fragile organization of the Makhzen /makhzan/, in a decline that is not definitive, the double institution of amghars and assemblies.

VI. The dissident Anti-Atlas. -- Finally it remains for us,
*631 in order to complete this general view of the Berbère /Berber/
*634 institutions of the South, to indicate the relations of the subject
regions of the Sous plain with the part of the western Anti-Atlas
that up to now has remained hostile to our penetration. In all the
• [619] mountains of the Kest, the tribes of the Ida Ou Gnidif, of the
Ammeln, of the Ida Oultit have preserved their secular traditions
[178] with distrustful fidelity. Each /139/ family settles as it pleases
[621] in a closed hamlet that forms a small elementary unit; all the
common affairs of the villages that form a canton are dealt with
in council; no amghar, no moqaddem even ventures to rise above
the assembly and openly direct the discussions. Small egalitarian
republics, which most often live in isolation, are thus constituted
everywhere. The only authority capable of uniting for an instant
175 this dust of little states into a powerful federation is that of the
*631 marabouts. At the beginning of the last century, one saw Sidi
792 Hachem of the Tazerwalt try to reconstitute at Illigh, by means
of the weakness of the Makhzen /makhzan/, the little kingdom of his ancestors, the sons of Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa. But the only title that the Berbères /Berbers/ then consented to give him was that of "amghar n Igezzoulen," amghar of the Gezzoula. His tribal representatives, who also had the title of "amghar," carefully guarded against openly violating custom: they only tried to slant the assemblies' decisions in a direction favorable to the interests of their master of Illigh, and often limited themselves by a prudent policy of not compromising the prestige of their temporal and religious leader.

/139 cont./

175 *631 178 [619] [578] In the same period, and up to the establishment of a caliphate of the sultan at Tiznit in the last years of the nineteenth century, the villages of the plains and irrigated oases, such as Massat, Mᶜader, Aglou, Tiznit, had also kept their democratic organization intact. Without doubt these small tribes, which were like melting pots into which the most diverse elements from mountain and plain came to be blended, were torn by internal party struggles. But perpetual anarchy did not succeed destroying the vitality of these surprising republics, ceaselessly divided, ceaselessly reconstituted (1).

1. Cf. our study on the tribe of Massat, Hespéris, 1924, 4th quarter.

It was only the constant presence of the Sultan's representatives, after the expeditions of Moulay el Hasan, the desolation of famines and epidemics at the time of El Hiba, and above all the abrupt re-establishment of the order of the Makhzen /makhzan/ since 1916 that could have caused the inner life of past times to disappear. Here again, it would suffice to question the old men in order to know what this country was before being reduced to the state of dismal passivity which at present no longer distinguishes it from the most submissive regions of the Empire.

121 128 *631 /140/ VII. The successive phases of the transformation of the South of Morocco. -- It was not the desire to use a convenient method of expositon of our subject that led us to imagine the fiction of a walk across the Sous under the guidance of companions of the great kaids, then that of an ascent on one of the mountain summits, thanks to the information of the inhabitants of the high valleys. In reality, we were able in this way to examine the two opposite aspects of the country, that of the Atlas seen from Marrakech, as the Makhzen and the chiefs perceive it or wish to describe it, and that of the Berbère /Berber/ republics, whose number and vitality one can get to observe only by slipping away from the official guides for an instant and, on the contrary, casting one's eyes from the highest regions toward the plain.

2: Montagne

MW11 Shluh MW11

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P. 183	P. 184	P. 185
P. 186	P. 187	P. 188

Chart of position of map 2.
[facing p. 183]

2: Montagne--183 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Upper left corner of map facing p. 146 in the original source/

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*631
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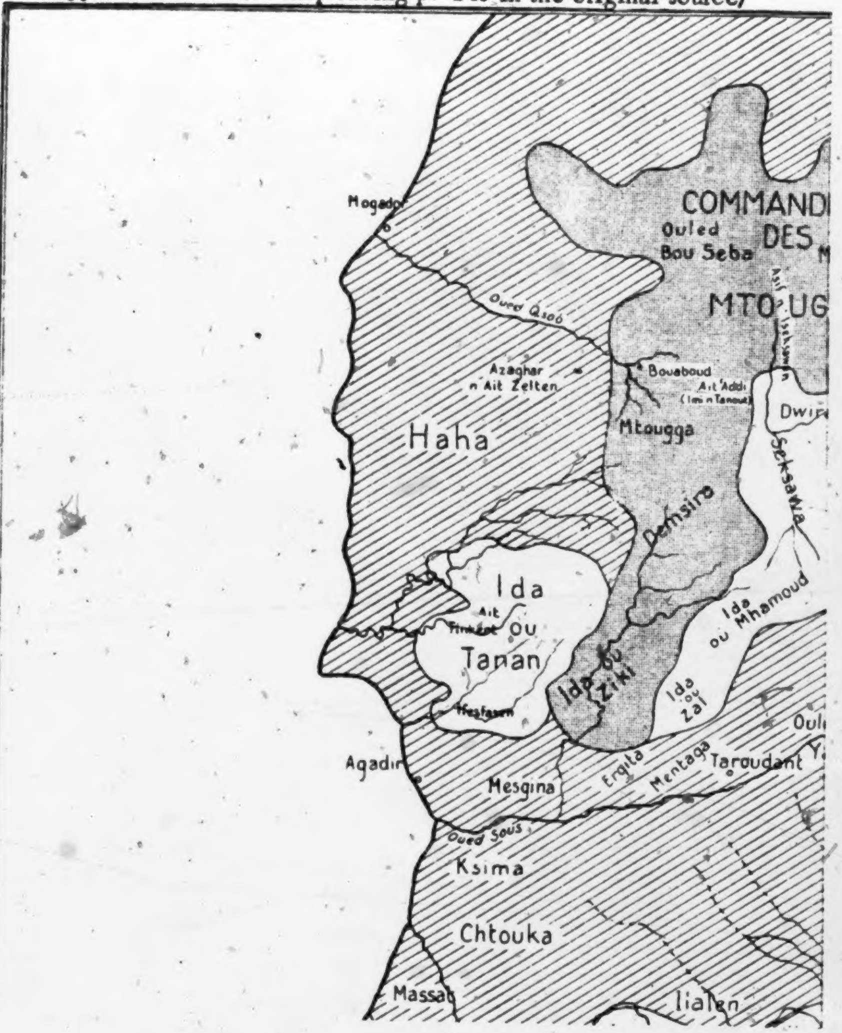

Mogador
COMMAND
DES
MTOUG
Ouled Bou Seba
Oued Qsob
Azaghar n Ait Zelten
Bouaboud
Ait Addi (Imi n Tanout)
Dwir
Mtougga
Haha
Demsira
Seksawa
Ida ou Tanan
Ait Tinkert
Ifesfasen
Ida ou Ziki
Ida ou Mhamoud
Ida ou Zal
Agadir
Mesgina
Ergita
Mentaga
Taroudant
Oul
Oued Sous
Ksima
Chtouka
Massa
Iialen

2: Montagne--184 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Upper middle section of map facing p. 146 in the original source/

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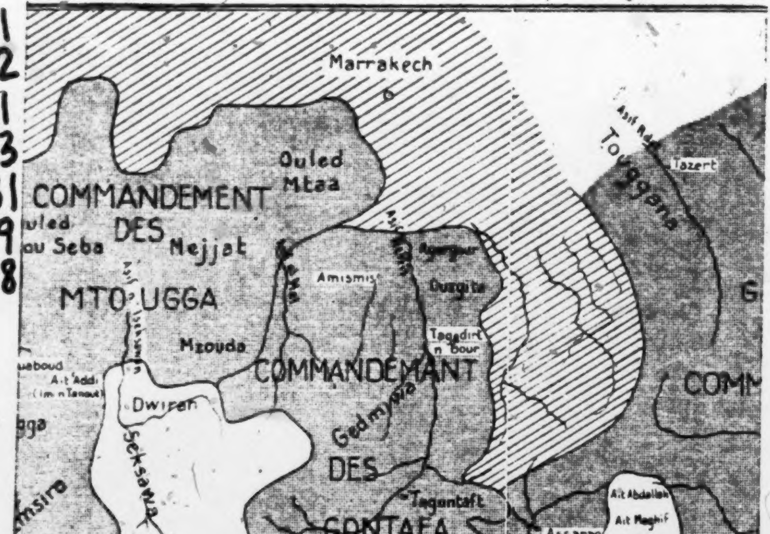
Marrakech
Asif Rdat
Tazert
Touggana
Ouled Mtaa
COMMANDEMENT DES MTOUGGA
Ouled ou Seba
Mejjat
Amismis
Agergour
Ouzgita
Tagadirt n Bour
Mzouda
Ait Addi
Dwiran
Seksawa
COMMANDEMANT DES GONTAFA
Gedmyua
Tagantaft
Ait Semmeg
Ida ou Mhamoud
Ida ou Zal
Ouled Yahya
Mentaga
Taroudant
Assarag
Ait Abdallah
Ait Maghif
Ait Qalla
Ikhzamen
Ait Waouzgit
GLAW
COMM
Zagmouzen
Taliwin
Souktana
Zenag
Iialen

2: Montagne--185 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Upper right corner of map facing p. 146 in the original source/

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*631
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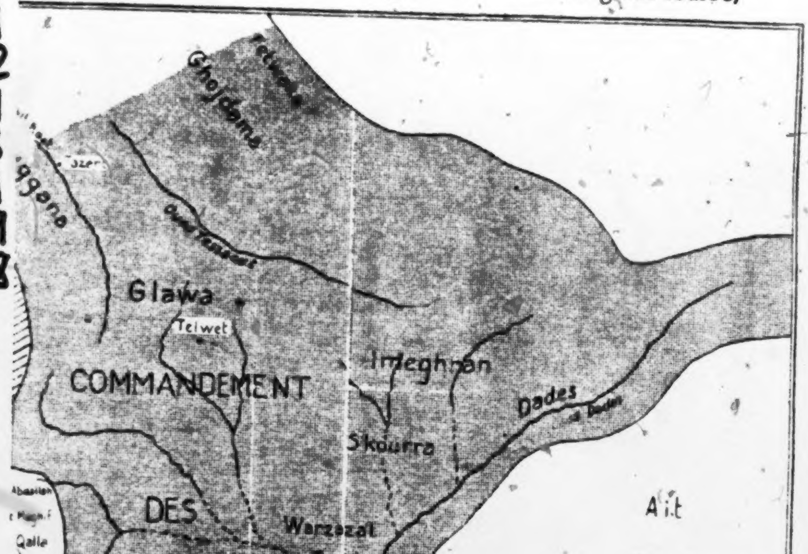
Ghojdama
Glawa
Telwet
COMMANDEMENT
DES
GLAWA
Imeghran
Skourra
Dades
Warzazat
Mezgita
Zenaga
Oued Dra
Ait
Atta
Ouled
Yahya

2: Montagne--186 E-5 (c. 1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Lower left corner of map facing p. 146 in the original source/

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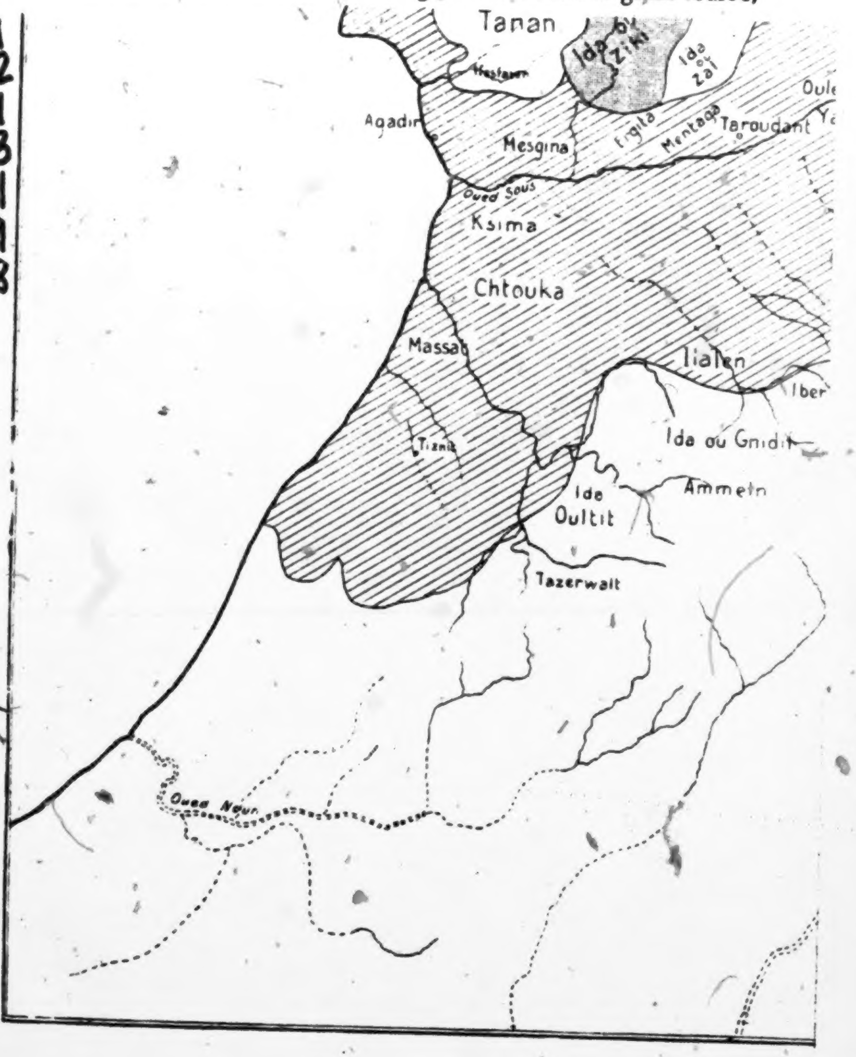
Tanan
Ida ou Ziki
Ida ou Zal
Mesfioua
Agadir
Mesgina
Ergita
Mentaga
Taroudant
Oule
Ya
Oued Sous
Ksima
Chtouka
Massat
Ilalen
Iber
Tiznit
Ida ou Gnidif
Ammeln
Ida Oultit
Tazerwalt
Oued Noun

/Lower middle section of map facing p. 146 in the original source/

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=619
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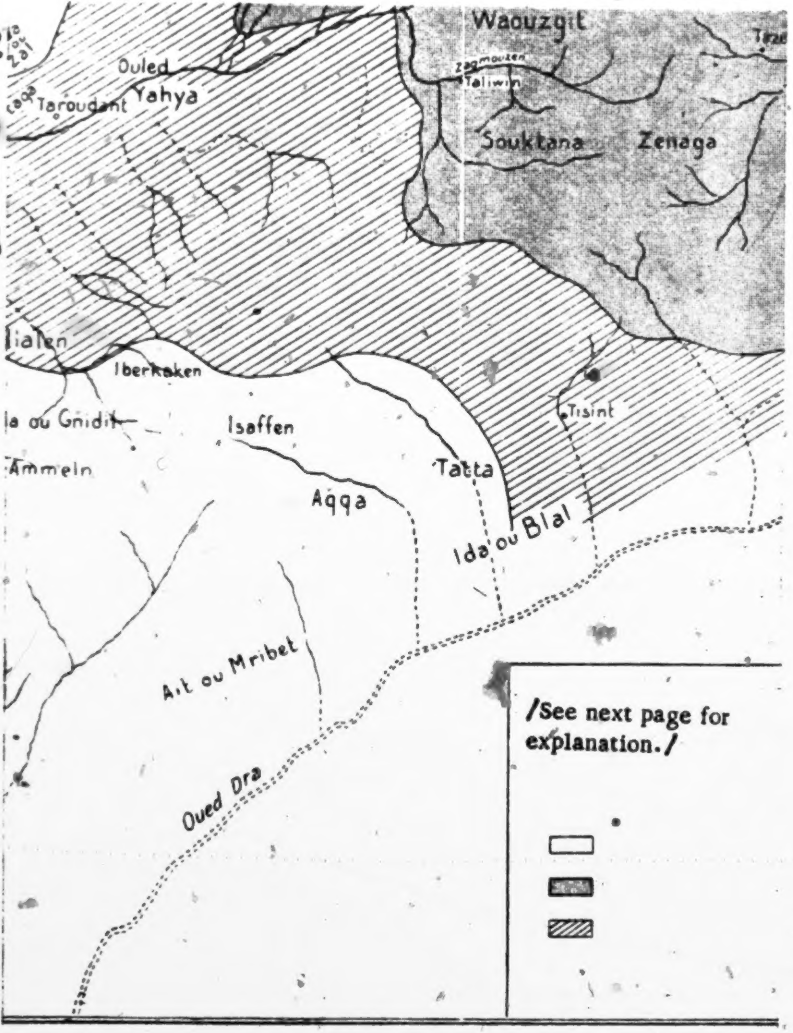
Waouzgit
Taze
Zagmouzen
Taliwin
Souktana
Zenaga
Ouled
Yahya
Taroudant
Iberkaken
Tisint
Isaffen
Tatta
Aqqa
Ida ou Blal
Ait ou Mribet
Oued Dra

/See next page for explanation./

/Lower right corner of map facing p. 146 in the original source/

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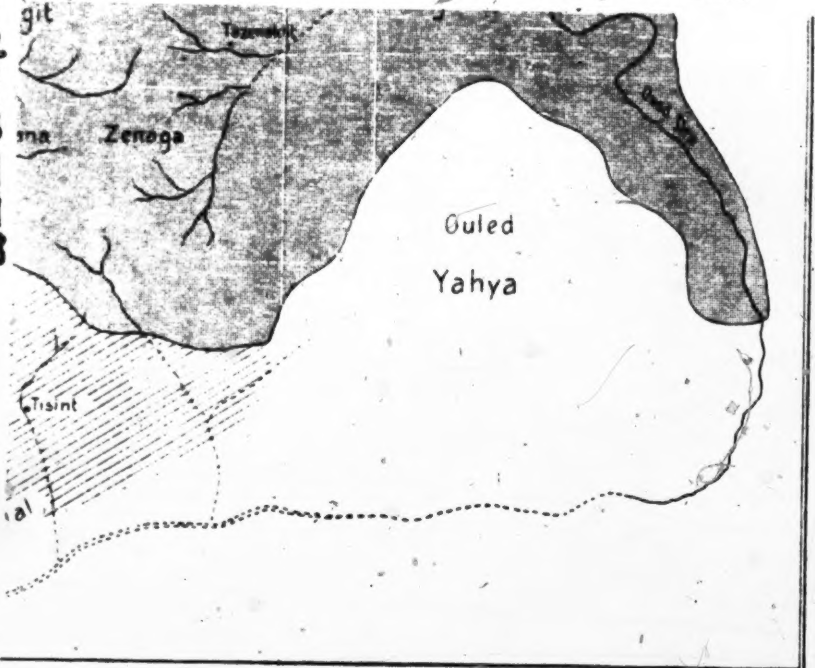

The Great Political Divisions of the Moroccan South
(Haut Atlas, Plain of the Sous, Anti Atlas, Dra)

Scale 1/1,800,000

☐ Territory of the independent or autonomous Republics.

■ Commands /Commandements/ of the Great Kaids: Mtouggi, Gontafi, Glawi

▨ Zone of direct administration by the Makhzen (Minor Kaids and Sheiks).

/147 cont./
121 transformed /148/ in our day by the Makhzen, the old men who
124 have lived the life of yore, will be our surest guides; better than
the servants of the kaids, who know above all the divisions established in the tribes with a view to facilitating the assessment of taxes, they will be able to help us discover the social structure of the Berbère /Berber/ country.

121 Rapid inquiry permits seeing, as a matter of fact, that the
131 boundaries of the great commands do not correspond in any way
to natural divisions; these frontiers usually follow the traditional
*631 boundaries of the tribes, but since they have been fixed by conquest, it also happens that they share in an arbitrary manner a territory formerly undivided; finally, in the very interior of regions placed under the authority of one of the powerful kaids of the mountains one observes the presence of small states, numerous and entangled, some superposed on others, whose long existence, attested to by local history, shows us past activity and
121 tenacious vitality. The same structural complexity also appears
in the Berbère /Berber/ regions directly subject to the Makhzen
*631 /makhzan/ -- such as the country of the Haha, the plain of the Chtouka, as well as in all the rallied or dissident Anti-Atlas. It is these small units, which the often arbitrary organization of the command has not always respected, which merit holding all our attention here.

621 The small groups out of which Berbère society is made up can
*634 be classed according to their degree of importance: the simplest
is the hamlet or village; the villages frequently combine to form
632 the unit to which we customarily give the name of subfraction in
*631 our administrative terminology; several subfractions or some ten
•619 villages constitute a small elementary state, which one generally
designates by the term of fraction and to which we shall here give by preference the name of "canton"; a union of fractions, three or four, sometimes eight or ten, takes the name of tribe; a group of tribes or a considerable aggregate of fractions -- twenty or thirty -- that of confederation.

Although a confederation is divided into tribes, a tribe into fractions, a fraction into subfractions, and a subfraction into

/148 cont./
621 villages and hamlets, the hierarchical organization of Berbère
*634 /Berber/ society does not present characteristics of absolute uni-
632 formity, which, moreover, would be irreconcilable with the
*631 variety of life. Thus, sometimes confederations do not exist,
•619 and tribes /149/ represent the largest groups; at other times, small units having the average dimensions of a "fraction" are found in the high mountains, independent and isolated; finally, it happens that big villages like those that develop at the beginning of high valleys have sufficient importance to form subfractions by themselves. These exceptions, moreover, mark with more force the individuality of the various groups whose nature we shall try to define here.

621 From now on it must be noted that the Berbères /Berbers/
*634 scarcely know how to apply distinct names to these various organ-
isms that the needs of our administrative policy oblige us to
632 distinguish. They most often designate them by the vague term
*631 of "taqbilt" (1),
619
128 1. Berbère /Berber/ form of the Arabic "qbila,"
829 tribe. One will be able to note that the terms of the political vocabulary of the Berbères /Berbers/ of the Sous are nearly all Arabic: "taqbilt," "mouda^{c}," "jemaa," "moqaddem," etc.

The terms of subfraction, fraction, tribe, confederation exist only in our administrative terminology; we shall define each of these groups by its institutions. The term "fraction" is, as one will see, particularly inappropriate, since this little state -- whose name implies that it is the part of a whole, the tribe -- actually has more definite characteristics than the higher organism.

For this reason we shall often use here the term "canton" in preference to "fraction."

and in their minds these social groups that we are striving to separate in order to understand their nature better are simple

/149 cont./

621 subdivisions within large ethnic groups; so it suffices for them to
*634 define them by saying the name borne by the men who form
632 them: the "Ihahan" thus designate what we call the confederation
*631 of the Haha; "Igedmiwon," the confederation of the Gedmiwa,
•619 "Isouktan," the tribe of the Souktana, "Aflfen," that of
the Nfifa, without ever using any name designating the social
128 organism that is a confederation or a tribe.

829 Very often the people who make up the States are regarded
as the descendants of an eponymous ancestor. Aït Ou ᶜAzzoun,
*634 Aït Zekri, Aït ᶜAtta (2), whose tomb is sometimes in a known place. The terms Id, Ida,
613
[829] Inda, Ind, with which many units of varying importance are designated
[101] -- Id Brahim -- Ida ou Kazzo, Inda Ouzal, Ind Ou Nadif,
seem to imply at the same time the idea of common descent and
[114] of grouping. This genealogical conception of Berbère /Berber/
society, whose value we have already questioned and which we
shall again have occasion to examine, /150/ can moreover appear to us only as a "prenotion."

2. Among the Ida Ou Tanan people show the tomb of Sidi Mehend Gouᶜazzoun, alleged ancestor of the 15 fractions of the Aït OuᶜAzzoun; among the Aït ᶜAtta, the tomb of Dadda ᶜAtta on the banks of the middle Dra.

121 For the moment we shall interest ourselves, in the region of
the high valleys of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, near the
128 summits of the Tichka, or on the plateaus of the Ida Ou Tanan near the Atlantic, in studying in themselves the best preserved and most lively social and political units. Resolutely setting aside all explanations borrowed from popular tradition, we shall strive to state precisely the nature of the various categories of Berbère /Berber/ states by comparing their life and structure. Then we shall establish in their hierarchy the order and precision indispensable for permitting us to understand the nature of the

/153 cont./

*634 166 609 states are stable, have traditional borders, and do not contain within their frontiers any foreigner who might refer to "brothers" of a neighboring fraction.

632 *634 A territory of eight to ten kilometers in diameter, three or four "moudaᶜ" that gather together in all the population of about 15 hamlets, at other times only one or two large villages, like those found in the summit region, in all two to three hundred hearths, thus suffice in order to constitute a small autonomous *634 131 Berbère /Berber/ republic and to form a "canton." The borders of this canton are not always established according to the natural geographical borders; if each high valley most often has its "taqbilt," it is because the country's natural division into compartments is set precisely at the dimensions that correspond to a small state of a few hundred families; but when it is a matter of a long watercourse, such as the Ogdemt, the Aghbar, the Asif Nefis, the Asif el Mal, each small state carves out the area that it needs in the valley and establishes itself in its way within the too-large borders traced out by Nature.

*634 •619 It is indeed the unity of the territory, the concern for defending it or increasing it that create among the families of the same canton a lasting social bond; and not, as the natives themselves often believe, the feeling of a common origin. Even though the name given to the taqbilt (Aït Lhasen, Aït ᶜAbdallah, Aït Mousa) tends sometimes to make one suppose that all its inhabitants are the sons of a /154/ common ancestor, it is easy to see that this belief is pure illusion. We have mentioned the importance of the *634 166 economic factors that create even within the Sous region a constant human circulation. The high mountains in the region that we are studying here do not escape these population movements; it even seems that the ethnic "brassage" /mixing, stirring/ might be more active here. In one of the cantons of the Aghbar, among the Aït Lemsour, for example, out of 17 families or "ikhs" settled in the country, not one considers itself autochthonous; in the neighboring country of the Seksawa, which the inhabitants of the plain are apt to regard as the territory of a very ancient tribe, one finds pell-mell families that came from other mountain tribes of

/154 cont./
*634 the vicinity or even from the Azaghar of Marrakech, from the
166 valley of the Sous, from the Oued Noun /Uad Nun/. A little
more to the West, the territory of the Ida ou Tanan is no better
closed to foreigners (1).

[113] 1. On the rapid renewal of the population within the "taqbilt," cf. our monographs on Massat (Hespéris, 1924, p. 378), on the Aghbar (Hespéris, 1927, p. 9), on the Ida ou Tanan (Revue des Études islamiques, 1927, p. 225).

The constant renewal of the population is the consequence of famines, sicknesses, exiles, and banishments; new arrivals join the mass of those who have preceded them and who are already established within the precise limits of the "taqbilt." But in this perpetual renewal of the individual elements that constitute the social group, the form of the small state, its frontiers and its structure remain unchanged.

*634 IV. The existence of the "taqbilt" or cantons is general
184 throughout the Sous. -- In the region of the Tichka, many "taq-
bilt" are independent; such are the Imedlaoun, Tigouga, Ida Ou
Msattog. Others group together to form tribes, like the Ida Ou
•[619] Mhamoud, the Seksawa, the Demsira, all while keeping their full
freedom; it is the same in the part of the territory of the Gedmiwa
remaining unsubjugated, on the north versant of the Igdad. The
[131] boundaries of former cantons are still very apparent in the whole
valley of the Nefis and of the Asif el Mal in the mountains. In all
*634 of the country confined between the Nefis and the Bibaoun road,
184 local investigations would permit easily finding again the recollec-
174 tion of a very large number of identical units -- 120 /155/ ap-
178 proximately (1)

1. This state of division appears to be very ancient in the region that we have just studied.

/155 cont./

*634 184 174 178 [113] /Footnote 1 continued./ The chronicler El Beidaq (Documents inédits d'histoire almohade /Unpublished Documents of Almohade History/, E. Lévi-Provençal trans., p. 63 and sqq.) shows us, at the beginning of the twelfth century, the Gedmiwa divided into 46 fractions, whose names can be partially identified. The same confederation in our day contains about 30 units. Likewise, the group of the Genfisa, then divided into 22 fractions, has undergone modifications of only little importance; most of the tribes that constituted it are easily found again among the present-day tribes of the Tichka and in our day are still simple independent "fractions"; the Imedlaoun, Tigouga, Aït Waggonsan, for example.

-- and each of them had kept its independence or its autonomy up to the middle of the last century.

*631 •619 174 178 More to the west, the three confederated tribes that form the Ida Ou Tanan were originally, probably in the sixteenth century, each made up of ten elementary units; they have varied little since then, and if the strong political organization of this group takes away from its constituent elements part of their activity, the limits of each of them, to which is given the name of "afous," nevertheless remain very precise.

*631 619 *[634] 174 [131] [162] [184] The confederation of the Haha itself, made up of 12 tribes, has preserved, especially in the region least transformed by the domination of the Makhzen /makhzan/, small internal divisions in which we do not doubt finding traces of former "taqbilt." Each tribe is actually divided into fifths, "khoms," which have a territory of about 50 square kilometers and a total population of 500 to 600 hearths grouped into several "jemaᶜa." In truth, in the north

/155 cont./
*631 of the same country, as Doutté observed as early as 1904 (2),
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[113]

2. Doutté, "Organisation sociale et domestique des Haha /Social and Domestic Organization of the Haha/," Bulletin de l'Afrique française, renseignements coloniaux /Colonial Information/, 1905.

the "khoms" is only an administrative division that one might believe at first sight had been established by the Makhzen /makhzan/ for the sole purpose of collecting contributions; in the south of the confederation, on the contrary, where the ancient institutions have not yet entirely disappeared, the "khoms," which also takes the name of "afous," has preserved a life of its own, which has been manifest until these last years. Among the Aït ᶜAissi, the Ida Ou Bouzia, the Aït ᶜAmer, in fact, the council of notables of the "khoms" has kept some importance up to the present, and in the course of the "siba" /revolt/ at the end of the century it still constituted the little parliament of a minuscule autonomous state, similar to the ones that exist around the Tichka.

One would observe without difficulty in the territory of the
*631 Aït Waouzgit, in the high valley of the Sous and around the massif
*634 of the Sirwa, as well as on the plateau of the Isouktan, the same
619 state of cellular division. /156/ It is all the more marked in this
184 region that the cantons hardly unite to form tribes and that each
of them had preserved complete political liberty with respect to
its neighbors up to the time of the defeat of the Glawa between
1913 and 1917.

The group of the tribes of the Anti-Atlas likewise offers us an organization identical with that of the mountains of the Masmouda.

*634 In the country of the Chtouka, first of all, one finds in the
184 plain or on the first slopes of the mountains some 20 dispersed
cantons without any bond among them other than that of a very
confused historical unity, and such as the memory of a common
role in the struggle against the Igezzoulen. Each of them groups

/156 cont./

*634 184 several hundred hearths gathered together in circular villages defended by thorn hedges. Each canton has its own life; its sheik subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/ is the successor to the minor amghar of old, formerly independent, who relied on the assembly of family heads. A little higher in the mountains, a few can- [619] tons that form the tribe of the Aït Wadrim on the banks of the Asif n Saghour obey a single chief, but each of them has kept its little council of notables, a senate of six to ten members, which deliberates as in a "taqbilt" of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ about everything that touches local interests. Nearer the summits the penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is still less advanced and [619] the autonomy of the small states more obvious. At the foot of the Jbel Kest each small tribe, whose dimensions are the same as those that surround the summit of the Tichka in the country of the Seksawa, remains independent: Imediyoun, Tiwazwin, Aït Wignan, Aït Waliad thus have their separate and different constitutions. In each state, according to the local customs, four, five, twelve "inflas" decide war and peace or administer "agadirs" similar to the ones that the autonomous republics of the Sirwa [133] have. The Aït Swab in the vicinity know this same state of division in their country bristling with peaks and hollowed out by canyons, while the little isolated social units of the south versant of the same massif, Agsel, Indrifen, Tafraout, Anmalouz, seem to be the exact replica of the Imedlaoun, Tigouga, Ida ou Msattog, which we found lost in the high valleys of the Atlas on the slopes of the Tichka, which dominate the valley of the Sous.

*634 184 131 V. Constant dimensions of the territory of the "taqbilt" or canton. /157/ -- What is most striking when one compares in this way in all the South of Morocco these federations of villages to which we give the name of cantons is the equal size of their territory in the various regions of the Sous. Sometimes, especially when the canton is made up of only a single "mouda^{c}," in the most secluded valleys of the high mountains, the soil of the little state occupies scarcely the bottom of a valley and the immediately adjacent slopes; but most often its area is between 20 and 50

/158 cont./
*634 itself into two parts as soon as it has conquered or absorbed the
131 neighboring territories and extended its frontiers. This division,
728 which makes one think of the simplest mode of reproduction of
the lower beings of the organic world, doubtless then appears
spontaneously, at the risk of internal discord. The history of the
struggles of the small states of the high mountains would give us
numerous examples of such extensions followed by such divisions.

*634 Thus, when a particularly active and bellicose group suc-
131 ceeds in extending itself by degrees and tries to conquer a whole
valley, it splits internally. Such is the case of the Aït Haddiyous
728 in the land of the Seksawa. Local traditions represent this group
•619 as formed originally by four fractions: the Aït Wasif, Ikourran,
[173] Aït Shaq, Aït Aougga; the first two would have disappeared, worn
out by war; the other two would have founded successively the
Aït Mousa, Aït Lhasen, Aït ^{c}Abdallah, then the Intedan, Awines,
Ibouban, Iwoulla, Wanzid, while the rallied foreign groups, the
Idma and Tassa, were giving rise to the Aït Mehand (1).

1. F. de La Chapelle (Unpublished notes on the dissident tribes of the command of the Mtougga).

One moreover easily perceives in this case, -- and it would
be easy to cite others throughout the Atlas --, the importance
within the canton of the life of each of the smaller social groups,
such as the village and the "mouda^{c}"; their numerical growth,
the valor of their warriors have as a consequence an extension
of the frontiers of the common territory to the detriment of the
weakest nearby states; thus the "taqbilt" extends itself little by
little and ends up by splitting into new fractions, without the
separation of the parts always taking place abruptly. The appar-
ent inequalities of these cantons can sometimes thus be explained.
*634 In this region, certain "taqbilt" almost correspond by their di-
619 mensions to what we usually call tribes, like the Aït Haddiyous
184 or the Imedlaoun, which gather together 600 or more hearths.
Other "taqbilt" are fractions of average extent, like the Aït

/158 cont./
*634 Chaᶜib, the Aït Breher of the Demsira. There are some that
•619 /159/ are still smaller, like the Aït Dris of the tribe of the Ida
184 Ou Mhamoud, Wanzid of the Seksawa. Finally, the Aït Mehand
of the Seksawa, Tagadirt n Baoun of the Demsira, by their dimensions are no more than "mouda^{c}," but their institutions already give them most of the characteristics of true "taqbilt" (1).

*631 1. By exception, in certain tribes of the
*634 Dir one finds territorial divisions smaller
619 than the taqbilt as we have described it
184 here. This is the case for the Aït Semmeg, divided into about 15 minuscule units whose territory scarcely exceeds that of a "mouda^{c}." Likewise the Mzouda are divided into ten "mia," each of which has only about 100 hearths. On the other hand, in certain regions peopled recently, such as the south of the Haha (tribes of the Aït ^{c}Aissi and of the Ida ou Bouzia), it happens that the tribe may be divided into several "khoms" whose villages are so entangled that it is no longer possible to trace their boundaries. Finally, an "afous" of the Ida Ou Tanan, the Id Mansour, has a territory divided into three parts separated from one another. These exceptions affect only an infinitesimal part of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, and we can with good reason ignore them in an over-all description of the social structure.

*634 Thanks to the limited extent of its territory and the concern
that its inhabitants manifest in defending the frontiers, the canton
*631 is a small state with great vitality. On the other hand, we shall
619 observe that the larger organisms -- the tribe and the confedera-
tion -- in the same region are much more difficult to define and

/159 cont./

*631 •619 that the bond that unites their parts sometimes seems to escape all investigation.

619 *[634] [184] VI. The tribe; difficulty of defining its nature. -- A tribe is a group of cantons -- whose number may vary between three and twelve -- that possesses a definite territory, a name, some common traditions, and is at the same time devoid of any precise political institution, especially in the region of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, which has not been modified by the organization of the Makhzen /makhzan/ command (2).

> 2. We have said that there does not generally exist in the high regions of the Atlas or of the Anti-Atlas any particular name to designate the tribe. One often uses the name of "taqbilt"; preferably it is designated by the name of the people who form it: "Iseksawen," "Ida Ou Mhamoud."

•619 *634 The unit of the tribe appears only in exceptional circumstances, when the independence of the cantons is threatened by the Makhzen /makhzan/ and all the warriors assemble to defend the country. But most often the durable bond that unites the cantons -- a bond attested to by the historical persistence of the tribe's name -- is characterized solely by the existence of a confused feeling of brotherhood, whose nature and origin we do not succeed in seeing clearly.

619 174 One could, by invoking the example that we have just given /160/ of the progressive development of the "taqbilt" of the Aït Haddiyous, regarded as the ancestors of the Seksawa, according to the traditions of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, try to regard the constituent parts of a tribe as the result of the growth of a single group, which at the same time would have been fragmented into small units in the course of time. This way of looking at it would, moreover, tolerably conform to the representations that the Berbères /Berbers/ themselves customarily make, and one would

/160 cont./

• 619 174 be tempted to justify it by local genealogical legends. But we have said what the importance of foreign contributions was, even in the high mountains, which make the idea of community of origin illusory.

619 *634 On the other hand, it would be very difficult to concede that all the tribes are only groups of cantons within which would be found a "mother-taqbilt," having given birth to the other units by simple internal development or by conquest. Indeed, the power of expansion of a privileged group cannot overcome indefinitely the resistance that surges up from every side when it tries to advance; a small elementary state does not always keep the same warlike ardor, and causes of decline intervene to stop its growth. [616] Besides, there are established among all the cantons systems of alliances organized so as to constitute in every region two opposed leagues whose efforts are in equilibrium; this institution, to which is given the name of "leff" and whose importance we shall soon discuss, has the consequence of limiting the expansion of overly active groups and establishing a sort of balance among all; it is doubtless owing to its conservative influence that we see exist in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ a large part of the tribes and fractions that were already there at the time of the Almohades (1).

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1. This structural complexity of the tribe has already been pointed out elsewhere.

Cf. A. Bernard and Lacroix, Évolution du nomadisme en Algérie /Evolution of Nomadism in Algeria/, p. 278. "The tribes are very heterogeneous in general, containing some sedentary fractions and others nomadic, some religious fractions and others laic, some fractions in struggles against one another. It is the clan and not the tribe, as is usually said, that corresponds to the Greek γένος and the Roman gens. The tribe is formed both by the development of the familial element and by the aggregation of foreign elements." -- "It is wrong," says M. Doutté, "to

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/footnote 1 continued/ picture the divisions of the tribes in the form of a genealogical tree. The divisions of the present-day groups of the populations generally constitute, not branches issuing from the same trunk, but grafts supported on a primitive stalk that it has sometimes become impossible to discern." (Doutté, "Figuig /a Saharan oasis/." Notes et Impression. -- La géographie, 1903, Vol. IV, p. 186.)

[113]

619 The existence of a common territory, which figures as the historical heritage of a group of fractions whose unity has perhaps /161/ been greater in former times than in our day, is sometimes regarded by the members of the tribe as the strongest bond by which they are united. Possession of soil with well-delineated borders then takes on greater importance than belief in the existence of a common ancestor. Thus a man from the tribe of the Ida Ou Mhamoud, whose geographical limits are very precise, questioned about the origins of his tribe and the personality of this Mhamoud who gave it this name, answers: "We are of the Aït Tounert. That is the name of our 'taqbilt'; Ida Ou Mhamoud is only the name of our country" (1).

1. F. de La Chapelle (ibid.).

In the same way, in the Anti-Atlas, a Tamli, of the Ammeln tribe, tells us: "The Ammeln do not form a tribe, but they are people who possess a country whose limits are marked by mountains. And in this country one finds seven small tribes." These "small tribes" of the Ammeln are precisely what we have called "taqbilt" or cantons.

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But very often also the borders are poorly defined and it seems that they have varied in the course of the centuries. In the region of the Tichka, certain tribes like the Demsira or Mesgina, which were represented to us as early as the twelfth

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•619 century as "emigrants with the Genfisa" (2).
174

2. Documents inédits d'histoire almohade /Unpublished documents of Almohade history/, p. 65.

were perhaps then ethnic groups driven from the plain in a body by the arrival of nomadic Berbères /Berbers/ and who were trying to live in the Atlas of the Masmouda. These units had to make a place for themselves little by little in the midst of hostile populations. When they did not succeed in obtaining a peaceful habitat and continued to suffer the opposition of the neighboring tribes, one conceives that the primitive genealogical notion forms the only durable bond among the fractions, even though the mingling of foreign families has taken all real value from it.

619 The feeling of tribal solidarity thus seems to us to be made up of somewhat confused or even contradictory notions: that of the existence of a common ancestor in a country inhabited by families who have come from the most diverse regions; that of the unity of a territory whose boundaries are not always fixed.

*634 616 619 VII. Equilibrium of the fractions within the tribe. -- Another element of a very special kind, and whose existence ends up /162/ perplexing our minds accustomed to simple and clear definitions, often comes to be added to the preceding ones: a kind of state of equilibrium between two opposed parties, who wage a furious struggle with each other within the tribe, is frequently observed.

In the greater part of the high-mountain territory of the western Atlas, there are two great alliances into which the fractions of tribes enter separately. All the little political cells that we have described under the name of cantons get there in this way, by opposing one another or by associating with one another in following the line of valleys or of the cols, to form a kind of immense chessboard in two colors, which stretches from the col of the Bibaoun to the tribe of the Glawa. Now, the fractions or cantons that constitute the tribes are often divided between these

/162 cont./
*634 two "leffs" in such a way that the two parts are very exactly bal-
616 anced. Thus the Aghbar is made up of four cantons opposed two
by two, the Ogdemt of five parts belonging alternately to one or
•619 the other of the alliances. The Mzouda likewise have two groups of cantons distributed in a check pattern, between which are divided the ten "mouda^{c}" of the tribe; the Dwiran know an analogous arrangement. As paradoxical as it may appear, the distribution of the cantons into two adverse parts of the same strength then becomes a guarantee of the existence of the larger group that forms the tribe. Internal equilibrium, in spite of wars, is incessantly ensured; perhaps this balanced opposition is, moreover, still better than a central market or a venerated sanctuary, the permanent sign of unity.

619 This state of equilibrium is not peculiar to the western Haut-
Atlas /High Atlas/; it would be easy to find identical examples in
616 the Anti-Atlas and the Sous, although the equilibrium of the leffs
184 may be less rigorous and the alliances do not extend to such great
*634 distances. Thus in the plain we see the tribe of Massat made up
of 15 villages, divided into three fractions in a small oasis of the Atlantic plain. For a century incessant battles were waged between the Ida ou Mout, settled in the center, and Aghbalou united with Tassenoult, at the two extremities of the territory. Each group used to deliberate apart in periods of anarchy, had its own allies on the outside, its compendium of customary law. The tribe of Massat, whose unity has so often been broken and restored, is /163/ made up of three autonomous political groups that balance their forces (1).

1. Cf. our study on Massat, Hespéris, 1924.

In the mountains, in the nearby region, the tribe of the Aït Mzal, 800 hearths strong, whose beautiful villages mark out the route of access that leads from the Saharan oases of Tamanart, Tizounin, and Aqqa to the interior plain of the Sous, is famous for the cleverness of its merchants, the size of its markets, the intelligence of its inhabitants. Apparently this is again a united

/163 cont./

•619 group, subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/, commanded by a
616 single sheik and endowed with a strong internal constitution. Ex-
184 pert fractioning nevertheless permits distinguishing here four
"khoms": Tinchouft, 1 Khoms n Ougadir, Tafraoutan, and
*634 Afella Wasif. Each of them is itself divided into three parts, which includes three or four villages of 20 hearths. The council of "inflas" is made up of 24 notables, six per fraction, two per third of a fraction. Formerly a great collective fortress, destroyed at the time of an expedition of the Makhzen /makhzan/ by Saᶜīd Gellouli, great kaid of the Haha, was the symbol of the unity of the Aīt Mzal. But as soon as one tries to penetrate into the life of the tribe by means of local history, one sees that it is above all made up of the struggle that its parts waged with one another before having been subjected to a single "amghar." The Aīt Oufella Wasif had their independence most often. As strong by themselves as the three inferior fractions together, they used to fight, with the help of the montagnards, their neighbors Ida Ou Ktir and Ida Ou Gnidif, against their brothers of the valley. Having constructed an agadir for their needs and constituted an autonomous little parliament as if their senate of six notables were insufficient for their political activity, they maintained in the tribe the state of division and of balanced opposition that seemed necessary for the life of the group.

Thus it is above all when the cantons that constitute the tribe can oppose one another in a lasting way in a territory of small size that this social group best becomes conscious of itself, whether to get to reconcile opposing interests submitted to the deliberations of a common assembly or to settle insoluble differences by war between two equal parties. By a strange paradox the tribes truly alive are the smallest and most exactly divided into parts of the same strength, /164/ within which war can be perpetuated without danger, such as, for example, in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, the tribes of the Dwiran or the Aghbar, in the plain of the Sous Massat or the Aīt Mzal in the Anti-Atlas. The more numerous groups of fractions, such as the Demsira and the Ilalen, are only aggregates of parts united solely by the same

/164 cont./

•619 name, a certain uniformity of existence in an imprecise geo-
616 graphic cadre, and the vague feeling of a common role in an
184 almost forgotten history.

*634 One might wonder whether the inorganic state in which we
find the tribes of the Moroccan South at present is primitive; it is
619 permissible to think that they had positive institutions in former
174 times, before being, as in our day, empty cadres within which
the cantons live as they like or wage war on one another, being careful only to respect a kind of equilibrium between the opposed forces. It would, in fact, be difficult to grant that such loose associations of small elementary states would have succeeded in existing indefinitely for centuries, if their members had not formerly felt united by a feeling of brotherhood much more intense than today. Blood ties, perhaps adoption rites, clearer memory of a common history, must have contributed to form these groups, which sedentary life, the organization of cantons, the mingling of families later contributed toward dissociating, without, however, succeeding in destroying them completely.

*631 VIII. Various categories of confederations. -- The nature of the confederations, made up of groups of tribes or fractions, is no easier to define than that of the tribes themselves.

These important groups may unite up to eight and ten thousand hearths, distributed over areas too large for the small states that form them always to have a very clear feeling of the unity of the common territory. It is easy to observe, moreover, that
[131] the boundaries of these higher organisms scarcely correspond to
natural frontiers, as among the Chtouka, settled both on plain and mountain, or in former times the Heskoura or Genfisa established in a rather indistinct manner on the two versants of the Atlas, so it is necessary to give up searching in the social group's bond with the soil for the explanation of these aggregates of elementary states.

*631 /165/ If one examines their structure, one can divide the
619 confederations into two classes. Some are made up of tribes,
themselves divided into fractions; the Haha furnish the most
*634

/165 cont./

*631 typical example; made up of 12 tribes, each having three, four,
•619 or five khoms, they give, by their cohesion and unity, an im-
*634 pression of constituting a homogeneous whole that has traditions
and a life of its own. In other confederations, on the contrary, the bonds uniting the tribes are very loose; they are hardly more than amorphous masses of little autonomous cantons, such as the Chtouka of the plain, the Aït Waouzgit or, above all, the Gedmiwa, whose mutual bond is nearly indefinable, if one examines the state in which these groups present themselves today.

*631 One can also, being inspired by historical considerations,
distinguish the confederations that have had a very long existence,
175 attested to by the most ancient writers, and that in the majority
have existed up to our day -- the Haha, the Gedmiwa, the Aït Waouzgit, and others that appear to us, on the contrary, like more recent, spontaneous, factitious, in the etymological sense of the word, creations constituted for a fixed purpose; the best example is that of the Ida Ou Tanan.

631 These two classifications, morphological and historical, are
not mutually exclusive; the ancient and stable confederations can, as a matter of fact, be organized, as among the Haha, or else amorphous, as among the Gedmiwa; the factitious confederations can be strongly constructed and durable, like the Ida Ou Tanan, or, on the contrary, ephemeral and loose, like that group of the Aït Tamedlou whom de Foucauld knew not long ago in the Sirwa and of whom at present we find no more than the memory.

*631 The feeling of community of origin does not explain the unity
of the confederations any better than that of the tribes. The di-
619 verse provenance of the elements out of which they were formed as
of our day is obvious enough. Moreover, one could not attempt to attribute to the people who belong to these large ensembles a fixed ethnic type; or at least if a few morphological characteristics do appear common to the inhabitants of the same region, it would be necessary to see in them the result of a local adaptation to the conditions of existence rather than proof of their common descent.

*631 /166/ IX. The historic confederations. -- More positive is
*634 the bond that unites the fractions and tribes in the common and
sometimes confused memory of the great historical events in
•619 which they took part in a sometimes distant past. We have dis-
175 cussed the role of the great Almohade tribes at the time of the
Mahdi Ibn Toumert and the strong organization that they then accepted, to the point that each of them became like one of the columns on which ʿAbd el Moumen could rest the weight of the Empire, founded in 40 years, from Spain to Tunis. Likewise, the tribes that formed the Hintata until the sixteenth century, or those of the Haha in the nineteenth century, participated totally in conquests or in the exploitation of large commands. But, outside of these glorious periods, the bonds that unite the tribes and the fractions to one another loosen; the confederations hardly know any more than the elementary life of the small states that constitute them. Like certain lower and multicellular organisms of the animal world, they then present no trace of centralization.
*631 But something still survives from the temporary unity that they
*634 knew: slowly pushed from their habitat by the clashes with the
latest tribes to arrive in the plain, it happens that in progressively
619 changing territory they nevertheless keep the feeling of their unity.
175 This was done by the Haha, whose towns in the sixteenth century
131 bordered the Tensift, if one is to believe Léon l'Africain /Leo
Africanus/, and who now have the Qsob wadi as their northern frontier. At other times, like the Aït Waouzgit, they advance across the mountains by the great routes of communication; in fact, we see this group of fractions, the greater part of which remains in our day, as in the twelfth century, concentrated around the massif of the Sirwa, moreover extend itself toward the north and reach, by way of the Asif Nefis, the plain of Marrakech (1).

1. In the twelfth century the Aït Waouzgit, entirely distinct from the tribes of the Nefis, were established exclusively around the Sirwa. After a revolt they were divided into two parts and annexed to the Tinmellel and to the Hintata by

[728]

/166 cont./

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[728]

/footnote 1 continued/ order of Abd el Moumen (Documents inédits /Unpublished documents/, pp. 62, 194).

We again find at present a group of Aïrt /sic/ Waouzgit established on the Jebel Kik, former domain of the Hintata: this is the tribe of the Ouzgita of Agergour. The names of the leffs of the Nefis, the Aït Atman and Aït Iraten, are found again as names of leffs and of fractions in the Sirwa. In the middle of the nineteenth century, the two chiefs of Tagontaft and Telwet still remembered the brotherhood of the Aït Waouzgit of the Nefis and of the Glawa and they invoked it in order to lend each other mutual support at the time of the expedition of the Makhzen /makhzan/ against Tagontaft (cf. below, p. 400).

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But in the course of these periods without glory it also happens that the historical confederations cease to exist: their elements then stand intact but disjointed, thus the tribes of the Tichka, which are the scattered remains /167/ of the Genfisa of the thirteenth century; the tribes of the two versants of the Atlas to the east of the pass of the Glawa, today isolated, formerly formed the Heskoura. The confederations even come very near to disappearing completely when they are worn out by several centuries of external wars. But if an occasion for conquest presents itself anew, as happened to the Haha in the course of the last century, the confederation assembles again under the command of a great chief, again becomes conscious of its unity, and reconstitutes, for some generations, a patrimony of memories and traditions on which the following centuries will live.

*[634]

Except during the periods in which the great historical confederations fall completely under the domination of a single chief, the tribes or the fractions that form them do not have any common institutions. In any event they frequently keep for

*631 •619 175 [778] /167 cont./ In any event they frequently keep for their general meetings a holy spot, a sanctuary, or even a plain specially reserved for this purpose. It is when they assemble for war that there reappears, according to a tradition that seems millenary, a rigorously determined order of battle: at the head, the porte-bonheur /bearers of good luck/, then the different groups, each coming in its place, in a succession known to all. One knows what utility Ibn Toumert drew from this institution in order to organize the "Tamyiz" /hierarchy of tribes/ of the Almohades. It is still observed in our day very much alive among the Haha, as in many other regions of Berbère /Berber/ Morocco (1).

> 1. In particular among the Aït ᶜAtta, confederation of seminomads of the Saghro and the central Atlas, and among the Ghomara.

*631 174 One might wonder whether the historical confederations, whose parts are most often in our day so weakly linked with one another, are not what exists, as "social cadre," of homogeneous ethnic masses arriving long ago for the conquest of the Moroccan South. Invading the Atlas in large groups, perhaps still attached to the forms of the nomadic life, the Masmoudian populations, divided into large families, would thus have conquered their place little by little; later, they would have lost the feeling of their unity by the contribution of foreign elements, or, still more simply, because of the stronger bond that attaches the inhabitants of the fractions to their soil. At the same time, the common institutions would have disappeared.

*631 174 171 What would confirm this way of looking at it is the importance that the bonds of confederation still have among the seminomadic Senhaja Berbères /Berbers/ /168/ of both versants of the central Atlas. Indeed, we see in this region, as well as to the east of the Dra, sizable groups that still live in tents, take possession of the country, and preserve, in spite of their internal

*631 [174] /168 cont./
conclusions of our research on the origin of the leffs will soon
come, as a matter of fact, to confirm it and increase its value.

X. The factitious confederations. -- The confederations that we have just studied still form in our day the most ancient historic groups of the Masmouda.

The Ida Ou Tanan give us a different and unique example in the South of Morocco: that of a recent and factitious confederation, but whose organization satisfies permanent necessities and which has existed for several centuries (3).

[175] [619] 3. Alone among the historians and geographers, Ibn Khaldoun /ibn-Khaldun/ mentions the name of the Ida Ou Tanan, without its apparently being applied to this region. The "Youtanan" appear to him as one of the subdivisions of the Mesfiwa, belonging to the tribe of Assaden of the Masmouda, Histoire des Berbères /History of the Berbers/, Vol. II, p. 160.

*631 At the time that the penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/,
175 which was being carried out /map appears here/ /169/ through
[648] the south of the Haha and the Sous plain, was going to endanger
[792] the independent fractions of the extreme tip of the western Atlas,
[642] a marabout, Sidi Brahim ou ᶜAli, disciple of Sidi Saᶜid Ou ᶜAbd
en Naᶜim, according to the local tradition, was able to give the
Berbères /Berbers/ the constitution that was going to permit them
to found a small state locked in the isolation of the mountains
*631 and high plateaus near the Atlantic. Three tribes, with equal
619 rights, and doubtless equal in strength at the beginning, make up
the confederation. They are the Aït Tinkert, the Aït Ouᶜazzoun,
the Ifesfasen, who, however, in our time live under different
political regimes and regulate their internal affairs as they think
fit. But twice a year, during the "mousem" /festival/ of the
[796] patron saint of the country, each tribe delegates representatives
[692] in equal number, who settle according to a fixed ceremonial and
by common accord "under the wild olive tree" of Sidi Brahim ou

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 219]

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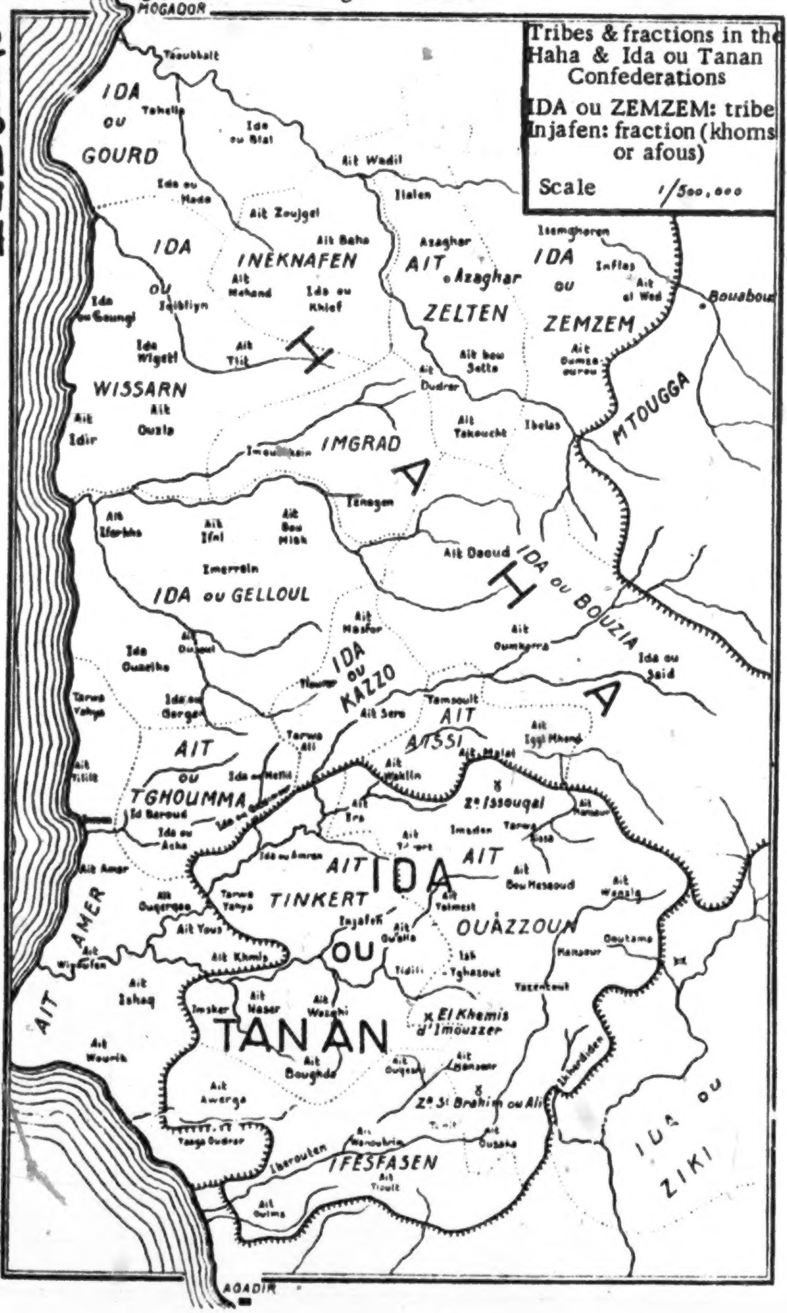
/Map facing p. 168 in the original source/


Tribes & fractions in the Haha & Ida ou Tanan Confederations
IDA ou ZEMZEM: tribe
Injafen: fraction (khoms or afous)
Scale 1/500,000
MOGADOR
Tsoubbalt
IDA ou GOURD
Tahelle
Ide ou Bial
Ait Wadil
Ilalen
Ide ou Hade
Ait Zoujgel
Ait Baha
IDA ou ...
INEKNAFEN
Ait Mehand
Ide ou Khlef
Ida ou Gaungi
Ide Wigetl
Ait Tlit
H
WISSARN
Ait Idir
Ait Ouzla
Azaghar
AIT ZELTEN
Azaghar
Ait Oudrar
Ait bou Sella
Isemghoren
IDA ou ZEMZEM
Inflas
Ait el Wad
Ait Oumzaourou
Bouabout
MTOUGGA
IMGRAD
Ait Takoucht
Ibelas
Tanegm
A
Ait Iforkha
Ait Ifni
Ait Bou Mlih
Imerrain
IDA ou GELLOUL
Ait Daoud
H
IDA ou BOUZIA
Ait Oumkerra
Ida ou Said
A
Ait Masfor
IDA ou KAZZO
Tlaurar
Ait Sero
Tamsoult
AIT AISSI
Ait Iggi Mhand
Ait Malal
Ida Ouzeiha
Ida ou Gerger
Tarwa Yahya
AIT ou TGHOUMMA
Tarwa Ali
Ida ou Mellit
Ait Tililt
Id Baroud
Ida ou Acha
Ait Waklin
Ait Tra
Zª Issouqal
Ait Mansour
Imaden
Tarwa Sosa
Ida ou Amran
AIT TINKERT
IDA
AIT OUAZZOUN
Ait Bou Masaoud
Ait Wanzig
Ait Amer
AIT AMER
Ait Ouqerqao
Tarwa Yahya
Ait Yous
Injafen
Ait Yalmest
Ait Ouafla
OU
Ait Khmis
Ait Wisdufen
Tidili
Iak Tghasout
Outama
Mansour
Yazentout
Ait Ishaq
Imsker
Ait Naser
Ait Wazahi
TANAN
El Khemis d'Imouzzer
Ait Wourik
Ait Boughda
Ait Ouqesdi
Ait Mansour
Ikhardiden
Ait Awerga
Zª St Brahim ou Ali
Tasga Oudrar
Ait Manoubria
Ait Ousaka
Iberouten
IFESFASEN
Ait Tioult
Ait Oulma
IDA ou ZIKI
AGADIR

/169 cont./

*631 ᶜAli all the disputes that might have arisen among the limitrophe
•619 fractions. When an external danger, especially the conquest of
[796] the Makhzen /makhzan/, comes to threaten the country, the
[692] general "ajmoᶜa," the meeting of all the tribes under arms, is
decided at the Souk el Khemis of Imouzzer, at the common frontier of the three tribes. Here, in spite of the divergence of local interests, despite the centrifugal tendency of the three tribes who find themselves in contact with different populations, the will to preserve independence vis-à-vis the foreigner has been strongest; it has sufficed in order to constitute an irreducible bloc
*631 made up of the most diverse ethnic elements. Here one perceives
*634 the strength of the Berbère /Berber/ ideal of independence, alone
capable of agglomerating the social dust of the small elementary
619 states; the permanent threat of the Makhzen /makhzan/ has sufficed to make the parceling of the country disappear, as if it were necessary, in order to create in the amorphous mass of the "taqbilt" some solid cores of resistance, to strike it with repeated blows (1).

1. One can compare the example of the Ida Ou Tanan with that of the independent tribes, neighbors of the summits of the Tichka, under the pressure of the kaids of Bouaboud and of Tagontaft. In the course of recent years the minor chief of the "taqbilt" of the Aït Haddiyous, Ahmed ou Moulid, has been dreaming, it is said, of uniting the scattered debris of the ancient, vanished confederation of the Genfisa, in order to reconstitute, for his profit, a republic of the Tichka. By this last means, the "amghar" would have attempted, thanks to a policy of union, to save the Berbère /Berber/ traditions from the inevitable ruin that threatens them. Our intervention came to overthrow these projects and changed the balance of the forces in the high mountains. But if the efforts of this minor chief had succeeded,

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/169 cont./

/footnote 1 continued/ one would have seen a new confederation rise, which could have taken the name of Aït Haddiyous and whose aspect would doubtless not have differed much from the group of the Ida Ou Tanan.

XI. The "canton" is the essential political unit in the Sous. -- /170/ It is easy for us to see at present the relative importance of the various social groups whose presence we observe in the Sous.

The confederations appear to us as true states only by exception or in short periods of their existence; they most often have no activity other than that of the weaker units that compose them. The tribes, too, for the most part, are only inert masses of separate cantons. It seems that the most important groups are customarily only geographic and historic cadres, within which the life of the smaller units that form them is organized to their liking, according to the particular convenience of each of them.

In a word, it is a small state of a few square kilometers that, in the eyes of the montagnard, is the true fatherland. Tribe, confederation have limits too vast for the play of his passions and ambitions. The profitable organization of a great command, the attraction of distant expeditions into the rich conquered plains of the North or the irrigated valleys of the South, the strength of the spirit of holy war or the love of independence, sometimes threatened by the Makhzen /makhzan/, are necessary for the mind of the Berbère /Berber/ to rise for a moment to the idea of associations more extensive than those of the 20 families of his native country. [829] He still keeps in his heart, in these grand circumstances, one feeling stronger than all the others: the love of his "taqbilt" of origin, defined by its territory, its institutions, its alliances, and its internal hatreds. If there should occur a weakening of the bond that has united the mountain cantons for a time, the bloc breaks up anew, and each one again finds, without surprise as well as without regret, the narrow and familiar cadre of his valley.

/182 cont./
*634 spontaneous organization, but also in a large part of the bled
616 makhzen /region controlled by the central government/ governed
171 by the kaids. Nowhere, however, does this institution show such
importance as in the mountains of the Masmouda, between the
Bibaoun trail and the col of the Glawa. If one neglected to study
it, it would be impossible to understand the conditions in which
the evolution of the country proceeded for a century.

121 After having examined the nature of these alliances in the
616 country of the /183/ Masmouda, we shall be able to compare
171 them usefully with the leffs of the Anti-Atlas, with those of the
chain of the north of Morocco, in the Rif and the Jbel, and with
similar institutions that have been observed for a long time among
the sedentary peoples of the Kabylie /Kabylia/ of the Djurjura.
Perhaps it will then be possible for us to perceive, in an apparent
variety of aspects, the successive stages of the same evolution,
and thus to bring new evidence of the unity of social structure of
all sedentary Berbérie /Barbary/.

616 In spite of their vitality, the leffs of the Haut-Atlas /High
177 Atlas/ cannot be studied without grave difficulties. In truth, if
they remain nearly intact around high summits, they have been
178 profoundly affected for 50 years by the penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and by the substitution of personal power for the
small democracies and conservative oligarchies of former times.
*[634] Just as we often find the boundaries of the cantons and former
•[619] "taqbilt" half effaced by the new organization of the tribes, in
the vicinity of the plains or in the big towns, so the memory of
the leffs is beginning to be lost in all the parts of the mountains
subject to the great kaids for two generations. Near the Dir, only
616 a few old men who still know the events of Sidi Mohammed's
177 reign can tell us their exact composition. If we go up toward the
178 summits without penetrating into the dissident regions, only the
124 grown men who took part in the combats of the "siba" of Moulay
el Hasan are reliable informants for us, for already the young
men, who have grown up in obedience to the Makhzen /makhzan/, clothed in cotton, illuminated by the light of candles,
used to the tea and to the improvements of our era, are at the

/192 cont./
*631 of Berbère /Berber/ alliances; /193/ but the latter are still intact
*634 enough for one to find still in our day, on the south versant of
616 the Atlas, the commands of minor sheiks and their zones of influence
[178] tangled together in a form that can be explained only by
the distribution of the cantons between the two leffs. Thus the
amghar of Talekjont talks with his mountain brothers, Imedlaoun,
Tigouga, Igoudachen, while his rival from Talemt sees descending
into his casbah the warriors of the Ida ou Kwais, Aggounsan,
[578] Ida ou Msattog. Each minor chief tries to increase his authority
by stirring up discord and protecting the stronger ones. In every
circumstance he defends and supports his leff brothers against the
neighbors, and the reciprocal hate of the "Ida ou Zeddagh" and
the "Aït Zolit" is thus concentrated and symbolized in the struggle
of the two houses of Talemt and Talekjont at the foot of the
Dir.

616 VI. Geographical boundaries of the leffs of the Masmouda.
•619 -- When this system of alliances, into which all the mountain
131 cantons formerly entered, still had all its force, the boundaries
of the leffs of the Masmouda appeared more easily than in our
day. They were very precise and nearly always marked by natural
geographic frontiers. To the West, the "Indghertit" and the
"Imsifern" did not overstep the Makhzen route that traverses the
Atlas from Imi n Tanout to the Tizi Ma^{c}cho. The Mtougga,
Haha (1),

1. The Haha in their totality make use of the "leff" of the Igezzoulen of the Anti-Atlas.

and Ida Ou Tanan, as far as we can go back into the history of their internal wars, seem to have escaped the influence of these two great alliances (2).

2. Doutté has described among the Haha (Bulletin de l'Afrique française, 1905,

616 /193 cont./

619 /footnote 2 continued/ renseignements co-
131 loniaux /colonial information/, p. 15) leffs
that are mere temporary associations of tribes or fractions of tribes, such as one sees in all the bled el Makhzen /region under the control of the central government/.

The relations of proximity sometimes barely led the eastern "khoms" or "afous" of these coastal tribes to enter into one of the two leffs of the Masmouda by means of temporary alliances contracted with the Demsira and the Ida ou Mahmoud. Likewise on the south versant of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, the Ida Ou Zal, Ergita, Mentaga, whose social life is nevertheless analogous to that of the high-mountain tribes, have not kept a precise memory of the institution of the leffs during the last century in the form that we have described; it is above all because of their present-day friendships with some /194/ or others of the neighboring fractions that they place themselves now in the party of the "Aït Zolit" or of the "Ida Ou Zeddagh."

The eastern boundary of the chessboard of the leffs is no less evident in the central Haut-Atlas. Beyond the territory of the Glawa, the great permanent alliances of the Masmouda do not come to merge into the more fragile associations that bind together the fractions of tribes of the Imeghran, Ghojdama, and Fetwaka, even when one tries to go back, to find again the trace of ancient alliances, to the most remote period of which tradition keeps any memory.

616 It is not without interest to observe, on the one hand, that
616 the Makhzen's two great penetration routes of the Tizi Ma^{c}cho and
619 of the col of Telwet thus serve as frontier for the ancient leffs and
131 that, on the other hand, the region of the Haha, to the West, and
648 that of the former confederation of the Skourra, to the East,
which form the boundary of this state of political division have withstood, because of the invasion of the Arabs from the desert and the Atlantic plains, collision with the most varied tribes for

616 619 648 [131] /194 cont./
long centuries. One easily understands that this situation may have been able to contribute toward making the balanced opposition of the two leffs disappear here.

By their traditional policy, the Arab or Arabized tribes of the interior plain of the Sous, Howara, Menabha, and Oulad Yahya, do not enter into the interaction of the mountain leffs. They thus form a kind of screen that isolates the Atlas of the Masmouda from the Anti-Atlas of the Igezzoulen. On the contrary, at the extremity of the Sous plain, the alliances of fractions gain by degrees the massif of the Sirwa and reach as far as the Dra, the Warzazat, and the Dadès (1).

(1). The leffs of the Dades and of the upper Dra, Oulad el Mahalli and Beni Zouli, have nearly the same aspect as those of the Masmouda (De Foucauld, Reconnaissance, pp. 288-289).

The Arab tribes of the edge of the desert, in the middle course of the Dra, also rally there, but in larger masses, and their inconstancy makes them unreliable auxiliaries. On the contrary, on the south versant of the Atlas, less than ten years ago, for example in the tribe of the Souktana, since conquered by the Glawa, the violence of the leff combats was still so great that 120 warriors of the leff of the "Igezzoulen" surrounded in the agadir of Ighri and forced by thirst to surrender to their hereditary enemies, the "Isouktan," were slaughtered by their adversaries like sheep. [726]

616 174 /195/ VII. Liaison between the leffs of the Masmouda and those of the Anti-Atlas. -- It is by way of this region of the Zagmouzen and the Souktana that the liaison of the leffs of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ with those of the Anti-Atlas seems to be made. But in this country it is no longer possible to reconstitute, even at the cost of patient historical investigations, a satisfactory picture of correspondence among the various local alliances so as to find, as we did elsewhere, two opposed parties under various

/199 cont./

*634 /footnote 1 continued/ played an important
616 role in the formation of the alliances, for the
174 region of the middle or lower course of the
131 wadis. This argument, however, is worthless
[312] in the high mountains where irrigation prob-
[578] lems are unimportant and easy to solve.

History and ethnography throw only very feeble light on the
*634 origins of the Berbère /Berber/ alliances of the Haut-Atlas /High
616 Atlas/. One will not be surprised that this institution has never
578 been, in spite of its importance, described by scholars. Ibn
174 Khaldoun /ibn-Khaldun/ scarcely tells us, while reporting the
struggles that set the chiefs of the Gedmiwa, of the Seksawa, and
619 of the Hintata against one another in the fourteenth century, that
it was only a matter of wars brought on "by the ordinary causes
that introduce discord between neighboring tribes, namely: the
proximity of their territories and the memory of their former
disputes" (2).

2. Ibn Khaldoun, Vol. II, pp. 267-268.

This is enough for one to suppose that it is a matter of struggles between leffs, but we should like to find some more precise information from the pen of the only historian who would have liked to make known the life of the Berbères /Berbers/.

175 Nevertheless, El Beidaq, in his valuable list of the Almohade
*634 fractions at the time of the Mahdi (3),
619

3. El Beidaq, Documents inédits d'Histoire almohade /Unpublished Documents of Almohade History/, p. 63.

gives us some interesting information. The Gedmiwa, he tells us,
include 46 fractions: the Aït Yalmazdog -- vanished today, then
the "Banou Masifra," "who pass in review first"; next, the "Inad
[616] Ghertit," "who are mountain Gedmiwa." Thus we see figuring in

/199 cont./
175 the first rank of this confederation the two fractions that have
*634 given their name to the two great leffs of this region, the
• 619 "Imsifem" and the "Indghertit." Likewise, at the beginning of
616 the list of the Genfisa fractions figures the name of the "Ida ou
Zeddagh," which is still that of one of the large leffs of the south
versant of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ (4).

4. In the official classification of the tribes of the Makhzen /makhzan/, the Ida ou Zeddagh in our day represent, not a leff, but a tribe formed by the ensemble of fractions included among the Ida Ou Zal and the Aït Semmeg. But in the country itself the Ida Ou Zeddagh designate only a leff, opposed to the one of the Aït Zolit.

The name of the leff of the Aït Zolit is to be compared with the name of Beni Zouli, one of the leffs of the Haut-Dra /Upper Dra/ and of Tinzoulin, district of the Moyen-Dra /Middle Dra/. The name of the leff of the Inemzel, among the Aït Waouzgit, is to be compared with that of the fraction of the Inemzal pointed out in the time of the Almohades. El Beidaq, Docum. inédits d'histoire almohade /Unpublished Documents of Almohade History/, p. 62. The leffs of the Aït Fademt and Aït Tzegout are also given by El Beidaq as those of former fractions.

174 /200/ Perhaps it is possible to go further and suggest, by way
*634 of a hypothesis, some comparisons. It is doubtless not without
619 reason that the organizers of the little kingdom of the Masmouda
554 of Tinmel had given such importance to the hierarchical classification of the fractions in which the order and the place of each one were minutely arranged, for battle as well as for dividing the booty. In this way the formalistic tendencies and the taste for ceremony among these mountain populations, so attached besides

/200 cont./

174 to their anarchical constitutions, are respected and utilized. One
*634 still sees at present in the same regions the most important acts
•619 of social life executed by following an anciently established cus-
554 tom that carefully fixes the precedence and the respective order
[178] of the fractions and tribes. Among the Ida Ou Tanan, the great circuits of justice carried out by the notables are made, as we have seen, in a rigorously determined order, they always begin with the territory of the fraction that must take precedence in combat and whose warriors are regarded as the "inflas" of the country. They are actually "porte-bonheur" /bearers of good luck/ who must be the first to undertake any difficult or important action whose success is bound up with the good order and the prosperity of the tribe (1).

1. Cf. our study on the ~~Ida~~ Ou Tanan, Revue des Études islamiques, ~~1927~~, p. 237.

[184] The same tradition has been observed among the Haha, where
*[631] there exist privileged groups destined to be at the head of the tribes and of the confederation in all circumstances; they are the ones who begin the fantasias and go into combat first (2);

[113] 2. Doutté, "Organisation sociale et domestique des Haha," Bulletin de l'Afrique française, 1905. Renseignements coloniaux /Colonial Information/, No. 1, p. 11.

in the south of this territory they are given the name of "inflas n tsehil," that is, porte-bonheur charged with "facilitating" the ac-
*[631] complishment of any important action. In the internal struggles
[726] of this large confederation it is the "inflas" of the tribe of the Imgrad who often decide the outcome of combats by retarding or
[616] precipitating the attack as they please. One could then suppose

/200 cont./
174 that the social groups that have given their name to the moun-
*634 tain leffs have sometimes been those who, by their magic
•619 "baraka," prevailed in decisions or "facilitated" success in
554 war by their simple intervention. At other times, too, with-
616 out doubt it is the most active ones who have prevailed and
have drawn the nearby republics into their alliance; they then had, through /map appears here/ /201/ their strength, "the right to speak," and their name would thus have become synonymous with a permanent alliance among all the "taqbilt" that they protected.

174 Truly, in the absence of any precise historical information
616 about the ancient rivalries of the tribes of the Haut-Atlas
/High Atlas/, it seems to us impossible for the moment to ex-
619 plain by a single cause the present distribution of the leffs of
the Masmouda. Stabilized by centuries of internal wars, in a
[178] country screened from exterior influences, the leffs doubtless
[177] have taken their current form under the influence of the most
diverse factors; but their current aspect no longer permits discovering their distant origin. Examination and comparison of the territorial alliances among the tribes in the Anti-Atlas, the country of the Jbala and of the Rif or in the Kabylie /Kabylia/ of the Djurjura will permit us to imagine how this state of division could represent the end of a long evolution whose initial cause must doubtless, in the silence of history, remain hidden from us forever.

616 X. Aspect of the leffs of the Anti-Atlas. -- The first Ber-
114 bère /Berber/ leffs that had been studied in Morocco were
those of the Anti-Atlas: the "Igezzoulen" and the "Isouktan" pointed out by Ch. de Foucauld. Nevertheless, they still remain quite poorly known. It is not possible, in the absence of sufficient monographic studies on the tribes of the Anti-
*[634] Atlas, to compare these leffs, with all the precision desirable,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 265]

/Left side of map facing p. 200 in the original source/

102
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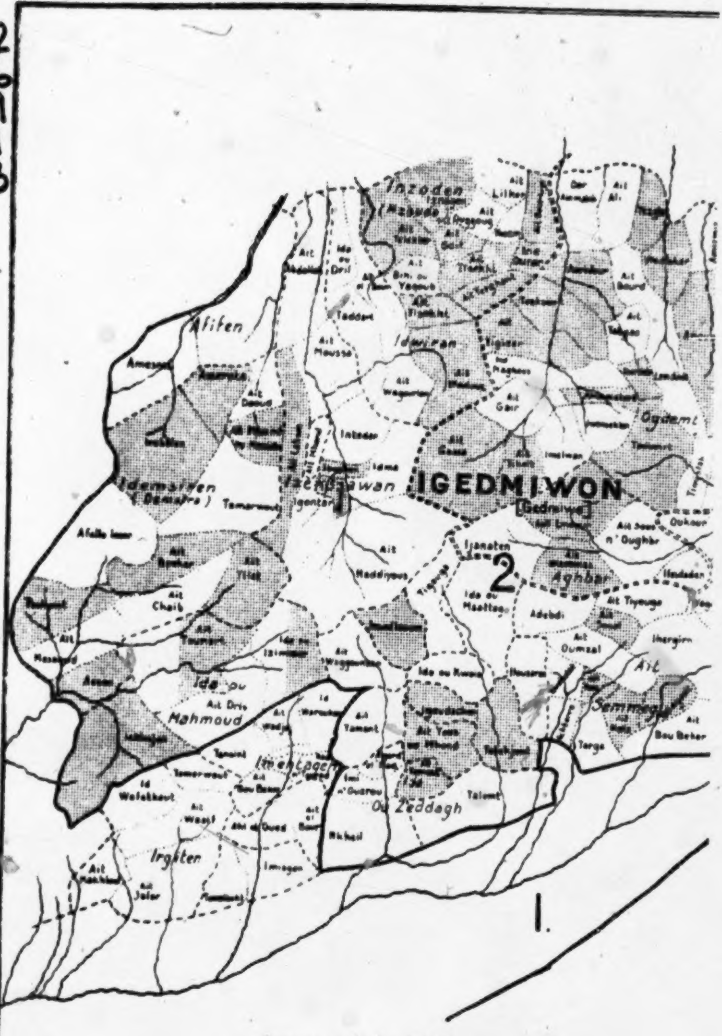
•619
131
133


Inzoden
(Mzouda)
Ait Lilhou
Ait Tiguemi
Ait Ali
Ida ou Dril
Ait Bih ou Yaqoub
Ait Tiqmiht
Taddart
Ait Moussa
Idwiran
Alifen
Amesmiz
Ait Daoud
Ait Wagwran
Ait Gair
Ogdemt
Intedar
Idemsiren
(Demsira)
Tamarwout
Igentan
IGEDMIWON
[Gedmiwa]
Ait Jouz n'Oughbr
Oukour
Afalla Iser
Ait Ibahar
Ait Tilik
Ait Haddiyous
Ijanaten
2
Aghbar
Ida ou Maaltag
Adebdi
Ait Tiyouga
Hadadan
Ait Chaib
Ait Toumert
Ait Oumzal
Ihergirn
Ait Messoud
Ida ou
Mahmoud
Ait Driss
Ait Waggountin
Ida ou Kasou
Ait
Semmeg
Ait Tamant
Ait Yaia ou Mhand
Targa
Ait Bou Beker
Imenlagen
Tamarwout
Id Wolokhout
Ait Bou Baser
Imi n'Ouarou
Ou Zeddagh
Talont
Ait Wassif
Ait el Oued
Rkhaol
Irghten
Imiagen
Ait Makhlouf
Ait Jafar
1.

Aspect of the leffs
in a part of the Haut Atlas, the Sirwa, and the Anti Atlas

Scale *1/600,000*

/see next page for explanation of boxes/

☐
☐
☐
☐
☐
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☐
☐
☐
☐

102
616
•619
131
133

/Explanation for map facing p. 200 in the original source/

Aspect of the leffs in a part of the Haut Atlas, of the Sirwa, and of the Anti Atlas

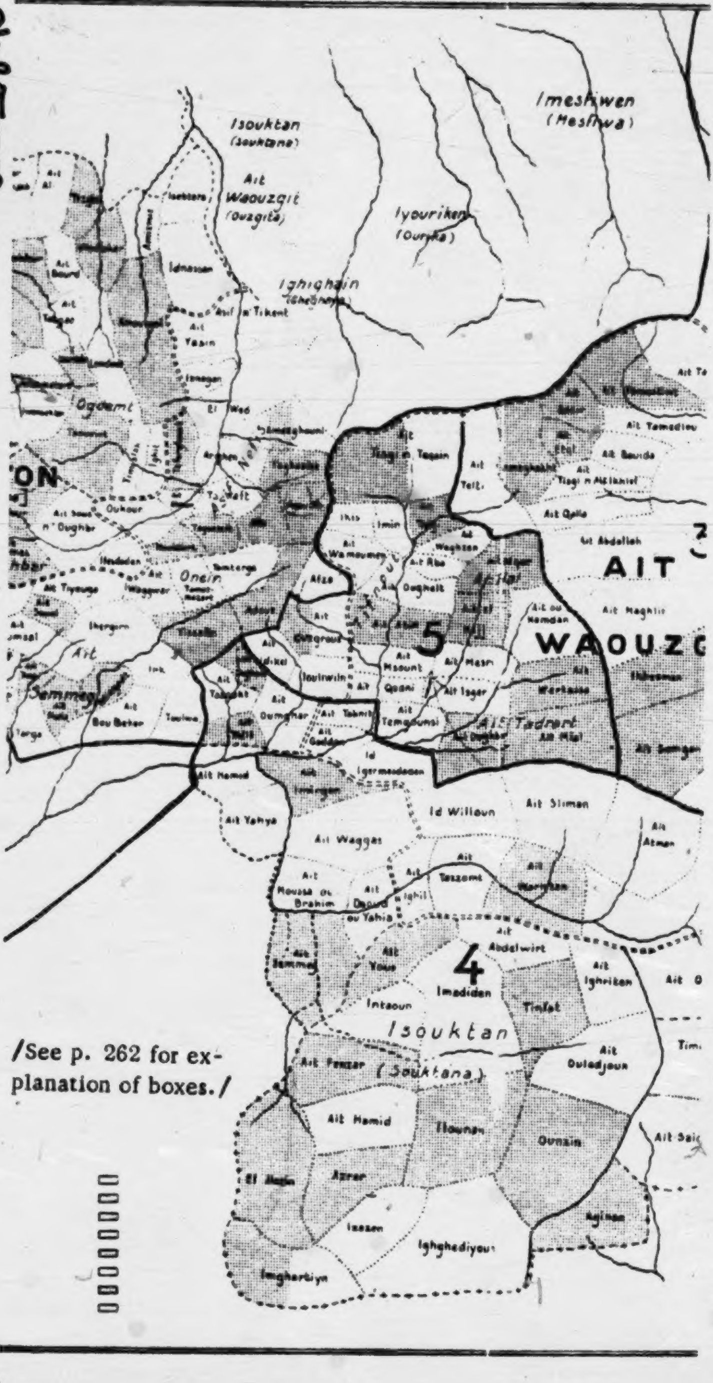
Scale 1/600,000

Zone 1.	Region peopled by Arab tribes who do not have stable leffs					
Zone 2.	Region of the leffs of the western Atlas	Ait Atman	Indghertit	Ait Fademt	Ait Zolit	☐
		Ait Iraten	Imsifern	Ait Tzeggout	Ida ou Zeddagh	▨
		(Asif Nefis)	(Seksawa, Gedmiwa)	(Ouzgita of the Kik, Gheghaya, Ourika)	(So. versant of the Haut Atlas)	
Zone 3.	Region of the leffs of the Ait Waouzgit and of the Glaoua	Inemzel				▨
		Ait Iraten				☐
Zone 4.	Region of the leffs of the Anti Atlas	Isouktan				▨
		Igezzoulen				☐
Zone 5.	Region of the leffs of the Tifnout and of the Azilal (Ait Waouzgit)	Ait Atman				▨
		Ait Tintlet				☐

2: Montagne--263 E-5 (c. 1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Center part of map facing p. 200 in the original source/

102
616
•619
131
133


Isouktan
(Souktane)
Ait Waouzgit
(Ouzgita)
Imeshiwen
(Meshwa)
Iyouriken
(Ourika)
Ighighain
(Ghighaya)
Idnassen
Ait Yasin
Ogdemt
Ait Tigga n Tagaa
Tagwalt
Onein
Ait Semmeg
Ait Wamounen
Ait Abe
Ait Waghzen
Ait Tidili
Oughelt
5
Ait Msount
Ait Masri
Ait Qsani
Ait Temgounsi
Ait Tadrart
Ait Abdallah
Ait Qalla
Ait Tamedlou
Ait Baouda
Ait Maghlir
AIT WAOUZG
Ait Hamid
Ait Yahya
Ait Waggas
Id Willoun
Ait Sliman
Ait Atman
Ait Moussa ou Brahim
Ait Daoud ou Yahia
Ait Tassomt
Ait Warghan
Ait Abdelwirt
4
Imadiden
Ait Semmeg
Ait Yous
Intaoun
Tinfat
Ait Ighriten
Isouktan
(Souktana)
Ait Faazar
Ait Ouladjoun
Ait Hamid
Ilounen
Ounzin
El Mahin
Azrar
Issaaen
Ighghediyoun
Aglmoun
Imgharbiyn
Ait Said

/See p. 262 for explanation of boxes./

2: Montagne--264 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Right side of map facing p. 200 in the original source/

102
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619
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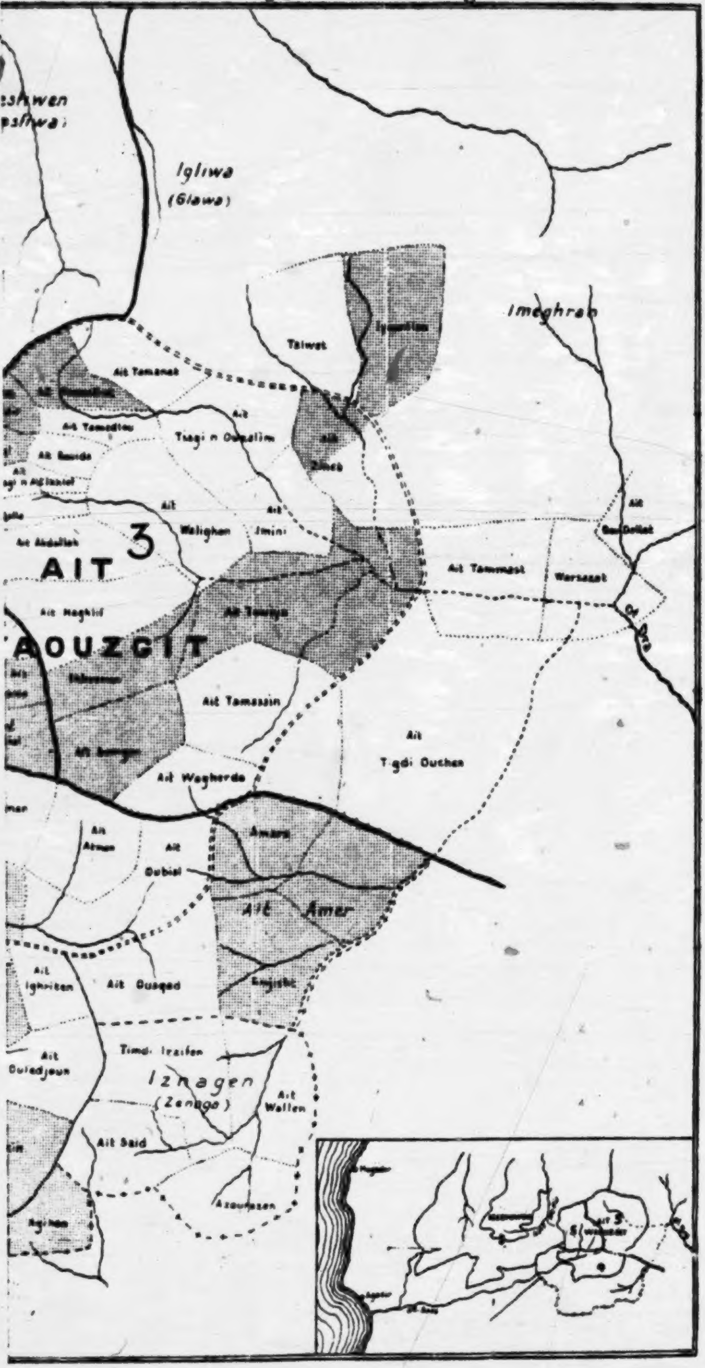
133



Igliwa
(Glawa)
Imeghran
Talwet
Ait Tamanat
Ait Tamedlou
Tsagi n Oumalim
Ait Zinet
Ait Bouda
Ait
Walighan
Ait
Imini
Ait Abdallah
3
AIT
Ait Maghlif
AOUZGIT
Ait Tammast
Warzazat
Ait Tamassin
Ait
Tigdi Ouchen
Ait Bamgan
Ait Wagharda
Ait
Amaun
Ait
Oubial
Amara
Ait Amer
Ait
Ighriten
Ait Ousqad
Timdi Iraifen
Ait
Ouladjoun
Iznagen
(Zenaga)
Ait
Wallen
Ait Said
Azourazen

/201 cont./

616 114 *634 [113] with the alliances of the cantons of the Masmouda (1).

> 1. Cf. de Foucauld, Reconnaissance /Reconnaissance/, pp. 318-320. A short note by C^{t} Justinard on the "leffs du Sud-Ouest Marocain" /leffs of the Moroccan Southwest/ ("Notes sur l'histoire du Sous ... /Notes on the History of the Sous .../," Hespéris, 1926, p. 359) indicates some aspects of this political organization in the coastal region. Besides we have been able, in the course of circuits among the Aït Mzal and the Souktana, to complete our documentation rapidly. Nevertheless contradictions exist in the information collected up to now. One cannot be surprised; a complete investigation of the leffs cannot be conducted without studying completely the social life and local history of the tribes. The political map appended to this study gives only the approximate distribution of the two leffs.

101 616 •619 We shall content ourselves here with describing their essential aspects.

Two large masses of tribes in the Anti-Atlas refer to a "Tagezzoult" origin. One of them is settled around the Tazerwalt and includes, with the confederation of the Ida Oultit, the Akhsas and the Mejjat. The other one groups the populations of the central Anti-Atlas, already united around the Aghren at the time of Ibn Toumert, embraces the Ilalen, Ida ou Zekri, Iberkaken, Isaffen, Ida Ou Kensous, Ida Ou Nadif. The party opposed to the "Igezzoulen" of /202/ the West takes the name of "Aoggwa" or "Ioggwin"; the adversaries of the "Igezzoulen" of the East are called the "Isouktan."

/202 cont./

101 The "Aoggwa" (1)

616
619

[131] [491] are formed by most of the tribes that are found nowadays on the western routes of penetration of the mountains. From the plain of the Chtouka they extend on the one hand toward Tiznit, the Oulad Jerrar, the Aït Brihim, the Ifran, by the coast trail; on the other hand they go up toward the summits by way of the Aït Mzal, the Ida Ou Ktir, and the Ammeln, where they follow the transverse road that leads from the Sous plain toward Tamanart and Tizounin.

616 619 184 On the plains, in the vicinity of the Ocean, it is not rare that a tribe is divided between the two leffs, but on the whole, especially in the western Anti-Atlas, it is entire tribes or even confederations that enter into one or the other of the alliances. On the contrary, in the East, the units that form the leffs of the Igezzoulen and Isouktan scarcely exceed the scope of a canton. Ch. de Foucauld had already observed this more intimate mixture in the Saharan oases at Tatta, Tisint, and in the tribe of the Inda Ou Zal; but on the evidence of incomplete information he believed in the existence of a bloc of "Isouktan" embracing the Aït Semmeg, the Souktana, Zenaga, and Aït Amer. In going around the country we were able to convince ourselves of the state of division of the two leffs in the very tribe of the Souktana that gives its name to one of the parties (2). 616 619

[1] The Aoggwa appear to us to have been an ancient Berbère /Berber/ tribe of the Sous. Their name is found at various points of the country (Unpublished notes of F. de la Chapelle on the mountain tribes of the Mtougga command).

[101] [2] In order to avoid confusion we shall employ here the Arabic form "Souktana" to designate the tribe of this name, to the south

/202 cont./

616 /footnote 2 continued/ of the Zagmouzen,
•619 and the Berbère /Berber/ form "Isouktan"
[101] to indicate the leff.

*[634] In the Souktana tribe, the fractions of the Aït Sous, Aït Fenzer of Tinfat, Ounzen, Tounan, and El Hazen belong to the leff of the "Isouktan"; those of the Aït Tazoult, Aït Ighriten, Aït Hamid, Intaoun, Ighghedioun are "Igezzoulen"; Azrar, Izazen, and Imghartiyn are divided between the two leffs.

616 XI. Political role of the leffs of the Anti-Atlas. -- The im-
184 portance of the leffs in the political life of the Anti-Atlas varies according to region.

South of the Sirwa, it remained very great up to the time of
[792] the conquest of the Glawa. In this part of the country, each one
still knows with great precision the boundary of each of the
[578] parties; the marabouts especially, used to going to pacify discords at /map appears here/ /203/ a great distance, carefully make out which alliance they are dealing with in the smallest village.

616 In the central Anti-Atlas, in the heart of the great mass of
619 Igezzoulen of the mountains, the feeling of the brotherhood of
578 the tribes is inevitably disturbed by internal discords; it is only at
184 the boundary of the "Aoggwa" tribes that the hatreds are revealed with force between the two parties. Thus the struggle of the Aït Mzal, who are Aoggwa, and the Ilalen, of the alliance of the Igezzoulen, for possession of the souks /sooks/ is inflamed by the spirit of the leffs.

[726] In the Tiznit plain, war between the two alliances was con-
[538] stant before our occupation, and the poets used to find an inexhaustible source of inspiration in these combats. In seems, be-
616 sides, that in the vicinity of the coast the preponderance of the
619 mountain over the plain gave the pride of their strength to the "Igezzoulen," long grouped in independence around the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 271]

/Left side of map facing p. 202 in the original source/

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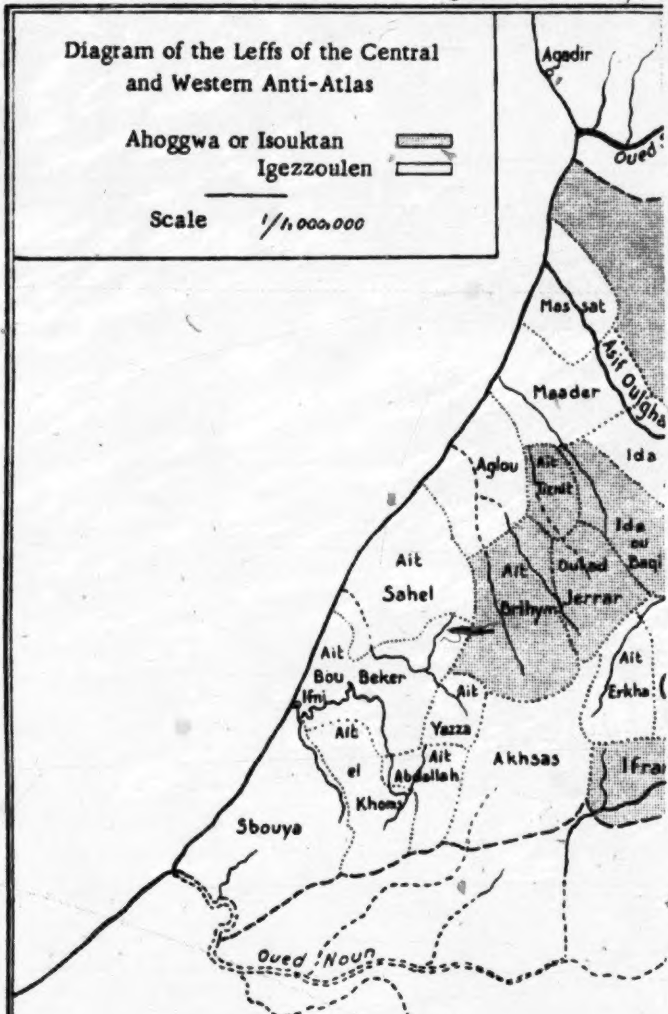

Diagram of the Leffs of the Central and Western Anti-Atlas

Ahoggwa or Isouktan ▨
Igezzoulen ☐

Scale 1/1,000,000

Agadir
Oued
Mas sat
Asif Oulgha
Maader
Ida
Aglou
Ait Tiznit
Ida ou Baqi
Ait Sahel
Oulad Jerrar
Ait Brihym
Ait Bou Beker
Ifni
Ait Erkha
Ait Yazza
Ait Abdallah
Akhsas
Ifra
Ait el Khoms
Sbouya
Oued Noun

102
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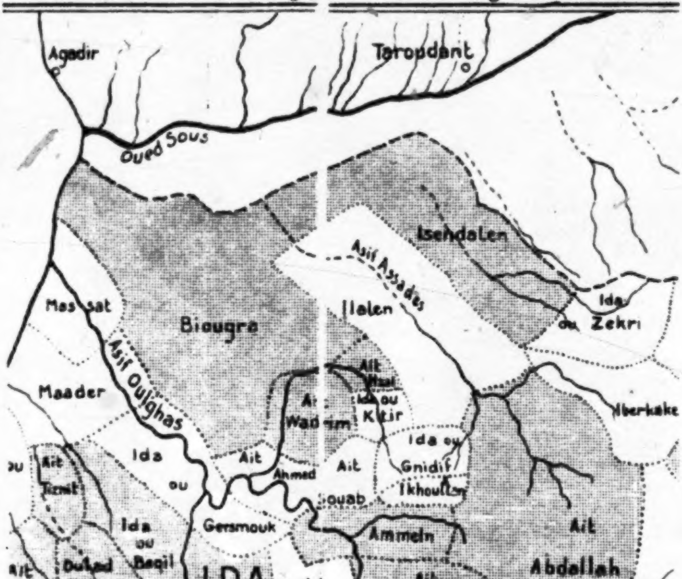
/Central part of map facing p. 202 in the original source/


Agadir
Taroudant
Oued Sous
Isendalen
Asif Assades
Ida ou Zekri
Mas sat
Biougra
Ilalen
Asif Oulghas
Maader
Ait Wadrim
Ait Mzal
Ida ou Ktir
Iberkake
Ida ou Gnidif
Ikhoultan
Ait Ahmed
Ait Souab
Ida ou
Ait Tiznit
Ida ou Baqil
Gersmouk
Ammeln
Ait Abdallah
Ait Brihym
Oulad Jerrar
IDA
Ida ou Semlal
Ait Oumanouz
Tazerwalt
Illigh
Ait Erkha
OULTIT
Mejjat
khsas
Ifran
Oued

/Right side of map facing p. 202 in the original source/

102
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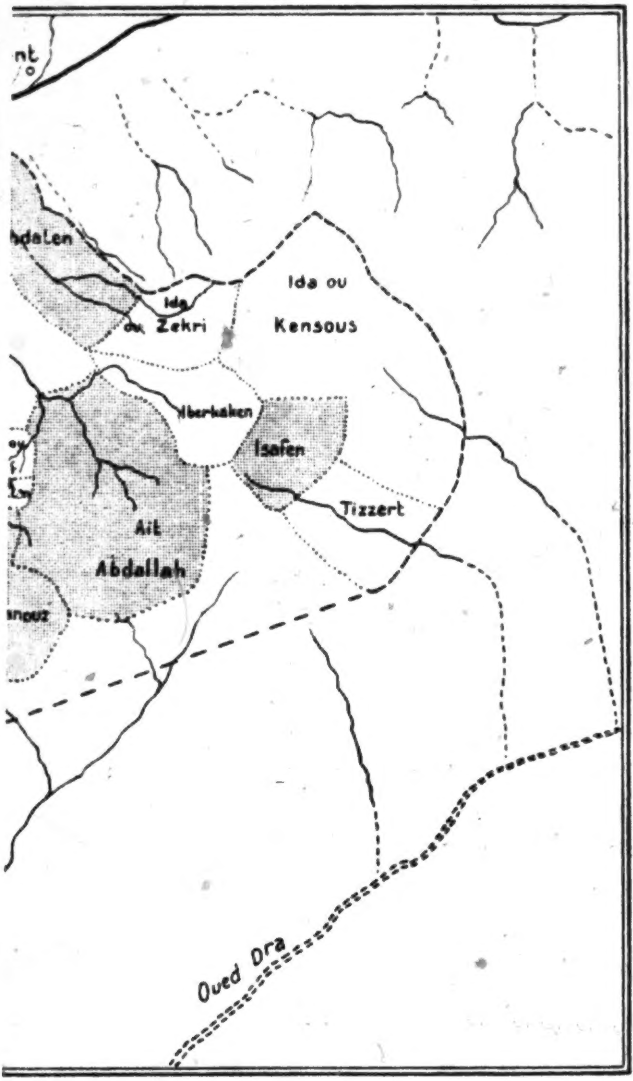
133
616
.619


nt
hdalen
Ida ou Zekri
Ida ou
Kensous
Iberkaken
Isafen
Tizzert
Ait
Abdallah
anouz
Oued Dra

/203 cont./

616 descendants of Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa, from whom they made
• 619 their amghars and their kings. They believe their leff superior
[186] in nobility or in courage to that of the richer, but less warlike
agriculturalists; the "Aoggwa" are thus ashamed to acknowledge their origin, and the members of this leff, it is said, have come to the use of secret signs in order to recognize one another (1).

1. This feeling of inferiority of the Aoggwa is not one of the least difficulties of the investigations made in order to learn the distribution of the two leffs.

The stability of both parties, without being so great, per-
*[634] haps, as in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, nevertheless suffices for easily distinguishing the leffs from the secondary alliances concluded between cantons in order to settle local disputes; such temporary associations are rarely established between fractions of tribes belonging to opposite leffs.

616 The same as in the Haut-Atlas, the policy of the Makhzen
/makhzan/ has tried in the Anti-Atlas to utilize the rivalries of
619 leffs in order to penetrate into the mountains more easily. In
648 particular, the sultans seem to have set the mass of the Chtouka
175 against the center of resistance of the Igezzoulen, which the
Tazerwalt had been for three centuries. Aghennaj, the great chief of the Haha at the beginning of the nineteenth century, who had put to flight the marabout of the Tazerwalt, Sidi Hachem, amghar of the Igezzoulen, swept along with him the tribes of the Sous plain and the Chtouka of the "Aoggwa" leff; and people still say to comment on this defeat: /204/ "By God, O Gezzoula, is it not shameful for us that Aghennaj threshed at the gates of Illigh" (1).

1. Justinard, ibid., p. 362.

Aghennaj, moreover, continued his march as far as the des-
[193] ert, reached Tamanart, the other traditional center of the power

/204 cont./

616 of the "Igezzoulen"; then, according to tradition, he came back
-619 to the Sous across the mountains, carrying along behind him con-
648 tingents from all the tribes subjugated, amidst combats, by the
175 safe route toward the North offered him by the Ammeln, the Ida
[173] ou Gnidif, and the Aït Mzal, of the leff of the "Aoggwa." Fifty
years later Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, Caliphate of the Sous in the reign of Sidi Mohammed, contrary to his predecessor Aghennaj, remembered again that the tribes of the Haha all belonged to the great leff of the Igezzoulen and celebrated in great pomp his alliance with the son of Sidi Hachem; for having changed traditional policy in this way, however, he had to pay for this triumph with his life, by drinking, under the Sultan's eyes, the poison reserved for the enemies of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

616 XII. Historical hypotheses on the formation of the two leffs
578 of the Anti-Atlas. -- Although the appearance of the leffs is
174 more complex here than in the Atlas of the Masmouda, it is
[184] easier to perceive in this region the origin of these two alliances.
In the minds of the tribal Berbères /Berbers/, among the Souktana or the Aït Mzal, for example, the two leffs represent the tradition of ancient quarrels between two rival families at the time when the populations of the Anti-Atlas were still living in the desert; in support of this argument, people assert that the hatred of the two leffs has remained much more passionate in the vicinity of the Sahara. But the aggravation of the struggle of the parties is explained as well in these confines by the closer mixture of the families belonging to the two leffs and which came recently to colonize the oases of the Bani.

616 The name of the leffs of the Anti-Atlas, which designate
174 either a big family of invading Berbères /Berbers/ -- the Igez-
zoulen -- or former tribes, like the Isouktan and the Aoggwa, and the very aspect of the two opposing alliances distributed in large masses around the summits or along the routes of penetration suggest rather the idea that this institution takes its origin here in the mode of the peopling of the land. Our ignorance of the history of the /205/ tribes permits us only to imagine how

/219 cont./

623 and intervenes to regulate the use and repair of the séguias; finally, it often designates minor functionaries remunerated by the
[185]
[241] /220/ community for the systematic regulation of irrigation:
[245] these are the ones that are called by the name of "amazzal," or
[624] again the "little inflas," or the "inflas of the water."

Sometimes it is the council of the "taqbilt" itself that intervenes in order to apply to those who act contrary to the crop police the fines called "azzain n igran," fines of the fields. But most often each "jema^{c}t" of a "mouda^{c}" fixes these penalties as it likes and collects the fines for its profit without swerving from a traditional tariff known to all. Moreover, it is in this form of the "azzain n igran" that the customary law at the heart of the "mouda^{c}" persists longest, even when the progress of the penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/ has led to its disappearance in the country.
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627
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[625]
[671]
[177]
[632]

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Thus, for reasons that are related to the conditions of material life, the assembly of the "mouda^{c}" often assumes great local importance. Even in regions like that of the Haha, where the population is dispersed over the whole territory in isolated houses, the use of forest pastures, the execution of tasks in common by mutual assistance contribute toward maintaining the tradition of the "jema^{c}t" councils. Meetings are held when necessary in the Friday mosque, which is sequestered, like all the houses in this country, on a solitary hill (1).
623
[346]
[361]

632
*634
•[619]

1. It may happen that the organization of the "mouda^{c}" develops on the model of that of the "taqbilt" and that it is then directed by a moqaddem. This is the case in several small tribes of the Seksawa (the Aït Haddiyous in particular). This event occurs in a region where the "taqbilt," divided into three thirds, are stronger than elsewhere; one grasps here from life one of the phases of the appearance of new autonomous fractions being formed by simple growth of the "mouda^{c}." One also sees from

/221 cont./

*634 central Haut-Atlas, Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/ and Rif (2)

[113] 2. The term "Bou 1 arba" is also pointed out among the Branès: Trenga, "les Branès /The Branès/," Arch. berbères, Vol. I, Part 4, p. 319.

the assembly of notables in a tribe or an independent fraction.

[178] [174] The origin of this name, so generally widespread, is unknown. In our time the Aït Arbaᶜin are not 40, but, in the western Atlas, only ten or fifteen. Perhaps in the past the representatives of the tribes divided into four groups, at ten per fraction, were designated this way (3).

•[619] 3. The division of the tribes into "rebaᶜ," quarter, is quite frequent, although less widespread than the division into "khoms" or fifth.

*634 802 174 The habit of counting by tens is in fact very widespread in the western Atlas. The Almohades, at the beginning of their movement, were familiar at Tinmellel with a "council of ten," gathered around the Mahdi; then a council of fifty, which indeed seems to have represented in principle the five privileged tribes. In our day, among the Ida Ou Tanan and in the south of the Haha, each "taqbilt" or "afous" must, in important circumstances, complete up to ten the number of its representatives who figure in the general assemblies of tribe or confederation. It may be, moreover, that the choice of the number ten is explained simply by the necessity of apportioning expenses and profits and dividing taxes and fines into equal parts, essential work of the assemblies of notables, by counting on the fingers.

*634 184 III. The inflas, their magical origin. -- On the south versant /222/ of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, as well as in the Sous plain and the Anti-Atlas, the name of "Aït Arbaᶜin" is generally

/222 cont./

*634 184 replaced by that of "inflas" or "anfalis," which is the plural form of "anflous."

*634 174 789 Here it is easier to find the origin of this term. The "anflous" (1) appears to be originally a personage who possesses magical powers. Known also sometimes by the name of "amzwar" (2). It is he who proceeds with the first plowing so that the harvests will be favorable. At Massat, the sons of an "anflous" are thrown for an instant into the river each spring, so that the irrigation of the gardens will give good harvests. Likewise, there are "inflas lbaroud" for war, whose presence in combat is a promise of success. Again, it is "inflas el khir" who make the rain fall, and
[184] one even sees, among the Haha, this magical conception of the
*[631] porte-bonheur take on the importance of a veritable institution in
• [619] the life of the country; the confederation has its "inflas," who are
the men of the Imgrad tribe; each tribe has its "inflas" chosen from a privileged "khoms" (3).

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[113] 1. Anflous, from the root Fls, to have confidence. (De Foucauld, Dictionnaire touareg-fr. /Tuareg-French Dictionary/, Vol. I, p. 228.) The Arab word "amin," used in Kabylie /Kabylia/, could be only the translation of the word "anflous."

2. From the Berbère /Berber/ "Zwour," to precede. "The amzwar" is the one asked first to do an important or difficult act because he is a porte-bonheur.

[113] 3. Cf. Doutté, "Organisation sociale et domestique des Haha /Social and Domestic Organization of the Haha/," Bulletin de l'Afrique française, 1905, supplement No. 1, p. 8.

/222 cont./
*634 and in the south of the country, where the traditions are more
[174] intact, the "khoms" or "a'fous" also has its own. Formerly, at
[789] the time of the "siba," no serious decision was made without
[184] consulting these important personages. The "inflas n tsehil,"
*[631] so called because they "facilitate" the accomplishment of all
• [619] things (4), sometimes give their counsel in the most critical political circumstances, even when in everyday life they pass as men without importance and may be without intelligence and poor in
*634 spirit. Sometimes even, for the collection of taxes, their role
651 is indispensable. Among the Aït ʿAmer, it is an "anflous" who
[778] must count the money collected, by placing it on the flap of his
burnoose so that this sum may meet with a happy end by communication from his "baraka." If the "anflous" is not there, one has a young child of the same family sit on his cloak, who receives in exchange for his good services a small recompense -- "l haqq n tbiliout" -- the fee of the "flap of the cloak." Doubtless these "inflas el /223/ khir," these "porte-bonheur," have only the name in common with the "inflas" that make up the council of the "khoms" or of the canton in the Sous plain and the Anti-Atlas. Nevertheless, one cannot fail to try to compare the two institutions.

*634 One may wonder whether these magical personages, without
789 political power in our day, but who are still carefully consulted,
174 are not the successors of sorcerers, high priests, "agrarian kings,"
whose magical or magico-religious practices formerly ensured
178 the prosperity and the life of the clan (1).

In many regions it is true, shorfa /shurfa/ and marabouts have, thanks to their "baraka," replaced the porte-bonheur of former

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4. Cf. above, p. 259.

1. Laoust, Mots et Choses berbères /Berber Words and Things/, pp. 313-315.

*634 /228 cont./
184 /footnote 2 continued/ that the moqaddem is
[178] the base on which all the affairs of the tribe
rest."

[613] /229/ Concord is difficult to establish in the bosom of the councils of inflas not provided with a moqaddem, where the only rule appears to be to maintain complete equality among all the
*634 representatives of the "ikhs." In order to prevent discords and to
•619 come to impose on the strongest groups the decisions made by the
184 other families in conformity with custom, it often happens that the small elementary states of the mountains come out of their isolation and join their neighbors: thus true tribal councils are constituted, in which each "khoms" delegates its inflas. In the
[692] Anti-Atlas such are the assemblies of the Aït Mzal, of the Ida Ou Gnidif, of the Aït Wadrim of the mountains; they each bring together 24 representatives who judge crimes in conformity with the ᶜorf (1).

*634 1. In these tribal councils the conditions under
619 which the customary law is applied in case of
692 murder let the laxity of the social institutions
184 be perceived. Among the Ida Ou Gnidif, for ex-
682 ample, the inflas friends of the murderer give
671 back to his family the part of the fine that comes
[613] to them out of the sum imposed by the tribe. Each one supports his brothers; the "ikhs" are stronger than the tribe. Often, it is true, the customary law foresees this situation, and the ᶜorf intervenes to condemn to increased fines the inflas who try to vouch for their brothers or appeal for them to outside authorities.

Thus each of the council members is ceaselessly impelled in two opposite directions: the duty to protect his brothers or the brothers of his friends, and the desire to take part in the distribution of the goods of the guilty. His conduct is inspired by the circumstances.

/229 cont./

*634 VII. The justice circuits. -- When the cantons are thus
•619 grouped so as to constitute a veritable tribe, made up of a cer-
692 tain number of small autonomous units, they often proceed with
circuits of justice carried out in the whole territory, in the course of which all the infractions committed during the year are investigated and punished. All the forces of the tribe then come to lend their support to each of the cantons, in order to facilitate the rapid settlement of differences without any danger to internal peace resulting from it.

*634 This custom, observed not long ago among the Igezzoulen of
619 the western Anti-Atlas, is still very much alive in the confedera-
692 tion of the Ida Ou Tanan, among the Aït Ouᶜazzoun and the
184 Ifesfasen. The circuit of justice is carried out by following a
178 minutely observed ceremonial. Among the Aït Ouᶜazzoun, for
example, a tribe made up of 15 "afous" or fractions, each "afous" first assembles ten Aït Arbaᶜin, who designate a representative. The 15 delegates of the "afous" thus named delib-
[625] erate apart and form the /230/ council of the "imzran" (1),

1. From the Berbère /Berber/ "zer," to see. The word, like that of Aït Arbaᶜin, has no singular. In order to designate one of the members, one says "ian gh imzran," one of the "imzran."

while the mass of the Aït Arbaᶜin of all the fractions together constitutes a police force capable of having all the decisions carried out. The whole takes the name of "ajmoᶜa" of the Aït Ouᶜazzoun. Thus formed, the "ajmoᶜa" goes first of all among the Aït Wanzig, who are the "inflas el khir" or "porte-bonheur" of the Aït Ouᶜazzoun tribe. For a day and a night the council investigates all the cases of theft or murder committed during the year and of which an account has been carefully kept by the notables
[695] and which the taleb has noted in writing. The guilty are sum-
[681] moned, heard, condemmed to be fined, and they pay on the spot

*634 /230 cont./
•619 pledges consisting of a certain number of guns. If the guilty
692 ones are marabouts, who do not have guns, they pay a fine in
the form of animals destined for the common meals. The next
184 day, the "ajmoᶜa" moves on, following a traditionally fixed
178 itinerary, and stops for two or three days, according to the size
[695] of the fractions. One night is spent at the zaouia of Sidi Brahim
[681] Ou ᶜAli, religious center of the confederation, where a solemn
[792] sacrifice is offered to the saint. Finally, the circuit of justice
[782] ends in the cantons of the north, and on the last day, at the
zaouia of Issouqal, the guilty ones come to pay their fines and
take back the guns they had pledged. The marabouts who played
[431] the role of conciliators or advisors receive gifts, and a sacrifice
[782] is offered to the saint of Issouqal. Then the remaining money is
[652] immediately divided into two halves; one goes to the "imzran,"
the other to the fractions represented by the Aït Arbaᶜin.

One conceives what difficulties are presented for making order prevail in the small republics incapable of naming moqaddem, and which cannot, in order to put an end to the disputes of rival "ikhs," always threatening, unite with their neighbors to carry out circuits of justice with large forces. Left to themselves, they become sources of agitation and private wars, unless a leader succeeds in imposing his will on the turbulent assembly of the Aït Arbaᶜin. Among the Ida Ou Tanan such is the fate of the isolated fractions of the Aït Wanoukrim, Aït Oulma, Iberouten, in the tribe of the Ifesfasen, which possess neither moqaddem nor powerful "ajmoᶜa" capable of having /231/ the decisions of the notables applied. The inhabitants try to constitute, after a fashion, by their own means, an "ajmoᶜa" to which come all the men under arms; but for lack of a tradition as respected as that of the Aït Ouᶜazzoun, the "ajmoᶜa" often ends in fights.

*634 A similar example of impotence is given us in the heart of
184 the Masmouda country by the little "taqbilt" of the Aït Tigidar,
in the Asif el Mal, also endowed with a democratic constitution
without moqaddem, amidst neighboring fractions that are more
[578] pacific and better organized. Discords multiplied to such a point
in this small territory that the village of Assaïs, political center
[361]

/235 cont./

796 warriors, on the most beautiful girls. Behind the spectators, the
53 fantastic shadows of the big trees move in the glimmer of the
glowing coals. Then, in the calm mountain night, the moon
rises and comes to light this scene, barbaric and graceful at the
same time. The nostalgic melody of the choruses carries along
the dance, and the faces, sometimes so rude and so closed, are
transfigured: in the middle of the rank of the women, dressed in
white, adorned with their crude silver jewelry, shine the most
resolute girls, who lead the song, their heads crowned with
flowers. The young men, the notables themselves, become emboldened to answer their lines. Finally, the "reis" improvise,
celebrate the combats of years gone by, the glory of the patron
saints of the Sous, faithfulness to the alliances, the price of
liberty.

*634 All the life of the "taqbilt" is concentrated for one night
571 around the fires stirred up until dawn, and whose brightness gives
796 to all, at the same time as the illusion of beauty, confidence in
182 the strength of the reconciled families. Thus there go to sleep
for a few hours the passions and vengeances whose constant threat
can break up the little Berbère /Berber/ state and which are revived in the morning in the mediocre existence of the day.

*634 Besides these village rejoicings that are part of the life of the
796 "taqbilt," there exist, as we have said, other more warlike fes-
571 tivities, those of the "tinoubga," in which the "Aït Tskawin" fig-
616 ure. It is there that the alliances of the leffs grow closer. The
182 great maraboutic "mousem," such as those of Lalla ᶜAziza of the
•619 Seksawa, of Sidi Brahim Ou ᶜAli of the Ida Ou Tanân, and of
Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa of the Tazerwalt, are the occasion of still
larger gatherings, in which all the divided tribes and fractions can
meet in peace. The opposing leffs thus get to settle their disputes amicably amidst the festivities, dances, and feasts under the
protection of the great saints of the Sous.

000 X. The Berbère /Berber/ republics of the Haut-Guir, of the Djbala, of the Branès. -- The life of the Berbère /Berber/ communities, independent of /236/ or imperfectly subject to the

/246 cont./

609 and a change in external policy can have their expulsion as a
166 consequence (1).
*634
563

1. Cf. above, Book II, Ch. III, pp. 245-246.

[681] At other times, too, a group that fears being reduced by the
exodus of families decrees penalties against those who try to pass
[619] into neighboring fractions. In this domain there is no general
rule, and each "taqbilt," each "khoms" or tribe is inspired by its
own interest.

474 /247/ II. The mutual aid and the contributions. -- Under
171 the name of "ouzia" one finds throughout the South of Morocco
the Kabyle custom of the "timecheret," purchase in common of
681 an animal whose flesh is to be distributed among all the inhabit-
574 ants of the village; but the "ouzia" here most often preserves a
religious character, and this practice does not become, as in the
Djurjura, the occasion for obliging the inhabitants guilty of in-
fractions of the laws of the city to offer a good meal to the whole
village.

681 Here the benefit of the "imensi n tqbilt," solemn meal that
574 the criminal or delinquent gives to repair the moral wrong that he
has done to the community, is reserved solely to the Aït Arbaᶜin,
*634 to the inflas of the senate of the canton. The "imensi ntqbilt,"
the "supper of the tribe," is, besides, a good windfall for the
notables themselves, who are satisfied in everyday life with
meager fare. The desire to have a good supper free of charge
readily inclines the Aït Arbaᶜin to give proof of great severity in
the repression of offenses.

466 The corvées for plowing, harvesting, and transporting manure
476 are the occasion of manifestations of disinterested mutual aid to
which the name of "touiza" is given. The "touiza" is granted to
all who ask for it. One who cannot plow his field because of his
[571] poverty makes a "ᶜar" to the jemaᶜa in the form of a lump of
[754] sugar; on the next day the workers assemble and come to the aid
of the unfortunate one or the widow without support.

/255 cont./

343 activity of the little Berbère /Berber/ republics during the peace.
712 In addition, if war breaks out, each one comes to seek refuge
184 there with his family in case of peril; a huge cistern that always remains full permits holding out against a long siege.

[619] These fortresses are particularly numerous in the Anti-Atlas.
[634] Each tribe or each big fraction has its own. They then are often arranged in the interior in the form of narrow streets onto which open two rows of rooms built on three or four floors (1).

[171] 1. This arrangement is identical with the one of the storehouses of the nomad Berbères /Berbers/ of the Tunisian South in the region of Foum Tatahouine.

Projecting stones permit access by climbing up to the highest doors. An enclosure of jujube-tree thorns piled up several meters high, several crenelated borjs /towers/ provided with machicola-
[625] tions ensure defense. The watch is stood by a group of warriors from the tribe designated in turn in each "mouda^c" or each hamlet; the doorkeeper lives permanently inside the enclosure.

In these tribes of the Anti-Atlas, the use of the agadir is so general that one comes to keep in each house the provisions for only one day. Each morning the head of the family goes to obtain the necessary victuals from the canton storehouse, in order, he says, "that the women will not waste God's blessing."

[182] The role played by the agadirs of the Anti-Atlas and the Sirwa region is easily explained by the conditions of life in a country where people can subsist only by amassing provisions in the years of abundance, rarer than those of drought and famine (2).

[127] 2. M. Officer Interpreter Ben Daoud has kindly communicated to us a work in preparation on the orf /tribal custom/ concerning the agadir of the Tamellokt tribe. This document contains more than 350 articles, which throw the most

/279 cont./
175 independence with respect to the great kaid of the Nefis, he kept
159 intact a readily accepted authority, whose whole secret was in
*631 the strength of the Berbère /Berber/ alliances (1).
*634
616
726

VI. The amghars of the Ida Ou Zeddagh (1840-1925). -- It
175 is under conditions analogous to the ones that favored the amghar
*634 Hafid of the Idmạ that two families of amghars have kept power
without difficulty on the south versant of the Atlas for several
[616] generations. Although these minor sheiks -- the Aït Bazzi of Talekjont and the Id Mansour of Talemt -- had seen their liberty restrained by the close surveillance exercised over them by the Makhzen /makhzan/ of Taroudant, it is easy to see that all their power was held, like that of their rivals in the high mountains, in their role as leff chiefs.

The political circumstances under which the amghars of Talekjont and Talemt exercised their commands were particularly stable during the nineteenth century. Up to the time of the conquest of the country by the great kaids, on all the south versant of the Atlas, from the Onein to the Ida Ou Zal, the organization of the tribes did not change. The regime of the little Berbère /Berber/ cantons varied according to their distance from the valley of the Sous, subject to the caliphate of the sultan at Taroudant. In
[184] the high mountains they were small republics, directed by an assembly presided over by a moqaddem, among the Aït Waggonsan, the Tigouga, the Ida Ou Msattog, or by a simple council of inflas without a moqaddem at Adebdi, among the Aït Soual, the Ihengirn; on the slopes were found minuscule cantons governed by a senate of /280/ three or four notables; finally, large market towns subject to amghars in touch with the Makhzen /makhzan/ existed at the very edge of the plain. Among these diverse terri-
[616] torial units, the bond between two leffs, the "Ida ou Zeddagh" (1)

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1. Notes of F. de La Chapelle.

• [619] 1. The name Ida ou Zeddagh designates both a tribe and a leff of this tribe and the neighboring regions.

/288 cont./
*634 from any disturbing influence of the Makhzen /makhzan/ or of
the great kaids (1).

1. Cf. our study on the Ida Ou Tanan, *Revue des Études islamiques*, 1927, pp. 223-247.

*634 /289/ Although they preserved their liberty with regard to
619 the Sultan and kept the laws of their confederation, which tradi-
[648] tion attributes to Sidi Brahim ou ᶜAli, the three tribes of the Ida
ou Tanan nevertheless lived, as we have said, under different
*634 political regimes. The Aït Ou ᶜAzzoun, directed in our day by
their notables of cantons or their council of family heads, in the
619 middle of the nineteenth century obeyed the amghar Akherraz,
178 who dominated the northern part of the country; the Ifesfasen still
have an amghar at Tassedremt, who shares the authority with the
Aït arbaᶜin; finally, the Aït Tinkert fell little by little under the
domination of the minor amghars allied with one another, and
in our time they have submitted to a single chief, Si Lhasen, son
of the amghar Mohammed Bou Naga. The appearance or the
effacement of these minor chiefs did not result from an external
influence; so the study of their power is particularly instructive.

We first of all see develop by the natural working of the
*634 institutions, when the tribe lives under the republican regime,
619 a whole hierarchy of minor notables: the heads of the patriarchal
families, then more important personages who form a kind of
senate of each "afous," or canton; finally, the "imzran," to
whom the affairs of the tribe are entrusted. Thus personal am-
*634 bitions multiply; the chances of internal conflicts increase.
619 When discord breaks out, each one calls on his brothers. By
578 courage or by ruse, "ikhs" chiefs or band chiefs grow in impor-
[613] tance, impose themselves upon their neighbors, and speak louder
and louder in the councils of the "imzran." Here, as elsewhere,
one day they come to confiscate to their advantage the power of
an assembly, which meets only in their house, and whose opinions
[554] from then on retain only a consultative value. It is at this time
that they are greeted with the title of "amghar."

/291 cont./

*634 notable charged with representing his brothers. The tribal coun-
642 cil even deliberates sometimes in public; but the decision has
been prepared in the amghar's house and the tribe conforms to it
exactly. The distribution of the profits of justice, of which the
notables collect no more than a very small part, shows that all
authority is concentrated in the hands of Bou Naga.

*634 But even in this case the concern for preserving the appear-
*631 ance of an assembly, whose presence itself is obligatory when
[642] the entire confederation reunites with Sidi Brahim Ou ^{c}Ali or at
the souq /sook/ el Arba^{c} of Imouzzer, suffices to show how, in
spite of everything, personal power here remains limited by the
recollection of the fundamental institutions of the country of the
Ida Ou Tanan. If, by a marvel of continuity, the minor amghars
of the Aït Tinkert have been able, thanks to family alliances, to
the existence of a very powerful clan, to succeed in obtaining
and keeping the command of the whole tribe for a century, they
have at any rate remained locked within the natural cadre /292/
that this third of the great confederation formed. Even so, they
are still subordinate to what the independent Berbères /Berbers/
call jokingly the "Makhzen of Sidi Brahim Ou ^{c}Ali." Thus, in
[619] spite of their power, they remain, like the leff-chief amghars of
[671] the Seksawa, subject to the laws of the tribes (1).

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1. For some years, the progress of the operation of the Makhzen /makhzan/ has manifested itself among the Ida Ou Tanan by a new development of personal power, thanks to the encouragement and external support given to the boldest clan chiefs. ^{c}Ali Ou Naser, amghar of the Aït Wanoukrim, Bihi ^{c}Achao of Isk n Tghazout, and other party chiefs have subjugated by force the chiefs of the neighboring "afous." The artificial character of this movement has undoubtedly further accentuated the latent antagonism between the regime of the Aït arba^{c}in and that of the independent amghars.

/312 cont./

175 their wishes to him" (1).

*634
159 1. Unpublished notes of F. de La Chapelle.
554

[431] In the eyes of the Seksawa, in the general poverty of the country, this liberality united with his authority suffices to make him a true tribal chief in spite of the modest aspect of his dwelling.

Here without doubt politics played a much more important [178] role than war. So the organization of the amghar's power has remained closer to former customs. Ahmed Ou Moulid respects his subjects' rights and contents himself with his own lands and his flocks; some plowing corvées, guards for his sheep, and sometimes a "touiza" for the building of a house, that is all that the last chief of the independent mountains asks in order to exercise his protection over the "taqbilt" of the high valleys.

*631 *634 *619 616 We have said that Ahmed Ou Moulid had dreamed of uniting the "taqbilt" that in former times constituted the Genfisa, in order to form a confederation whose politics he would have guided. If that project had been realized, it would have been the sanction of the patient efforts of the family of the Aït el Bazz to unite the small states scattered around the high summits and to constitute, in the name of the common interest, a true tribe made up of cantons of the two leffs.

*634 616 121 648 IV. The amghars of the Ind Maghous (1840-1880). -- A last example, an earlier one, chosen in the country of the mountain Gedmiwa, will show us how the authority of the amghars over the "taqbilt" of the two leffs is exercised more easily when it appeals to the sentiments of independence with regard to the Makhzen /makhzan/, while, on the contrary, it tends to disappear as soon as the minor chief receives the sanction of the Sultan.

*634 133 At the meeting point of a number of mountain streams that come down from the Igdad to form the Asif el Mal, the little plain of the Ind /313/ Maghous with its rich crops of olive trees, its few plowed lands, and its irrigated gardens constitutes a little natural center, the possession of which facilitates control of local politics. An amghar established at this point watches over all the

/340 cont./

175 The Mtouggi obtains in the plains: the Oulad Ben Seba^c, the
*631 Koreimat, the small tribes of the Mejjat, Frouga, Oulad Mta^c,
648 Oulad Yala, Arousiyn; in the mountains: the Mtougga, Nfifa,
Demsira, Ida Ou Ziki, Mesgina, Mzouda. He even claims the
• 619 region of the high valleys remaining independent, Ida Ou Zal,
Ida Ou Mahmoud, Seksawa, who, however, maintain only willfully distant relations with him (1).

*[634] 1. The tribes of the high mountains submitted directly to the French authorities during the summer of 1927, and the four most important amghars were confirmed in their power.

The constant concern of ^{c}Abd el Malek is to exploit the subject populations and keep us away from his zone of action as long as possible.

The Gontafi is reduced to the tribe of the Nefis, to the Gedmiwa, Ouzgita, and Aït Semmeg. He shares the Onein with the Glawa, each keeping the villages conquered by his partisans at the time of the general peace. From 1917 to 1921 Si Tayeb is charged with going to take command of the forces of the Makhzen /makhzan/ in the far south, at Tiznit, and loyally opposes the efforts of El Hiba in the Anti-Atlas.

Si el Madani has the cleverness to rally fully to the new Makhzen from the first days. He works at driving El Hiba, who took refuge at Taroudant, from the Sous, and recommences on this occasion the definitive conquest of the Aït Waouzgit, who have revolted four times in 20 years (1913), as well as that of the Ihouziyoun, the richest tribe of the Sous. In the course of several expeditions intended to facilitate the work of the protectorate, the Souktana, Zenaga, the Moyen-Dra, the Dadès, and the Todgha fall into the hands of the Glawa. From then on, the power of the chiefs of Telwet is such that on the death of Si el Madani, his brother El Hajj Thami, pasha of Marrakech, becomes the greatest chief of the South. He keeps under his authority some tribes of the south, the Souktana, the Onein, the Ihouzioun, but

/340 cont./

175 especially, on the north versant, the Zemran and the Mesfiwa,
*631 where he plants himself firmly by taking the best lands, from
648 which he expels the inhabitants; finally he commands part of
the "Gich" /gish/ of Marrakech; his nephew Si Hammo, remain-
•619 ing at Telwet, sees to preserving the immense territory /341/
formed by the Ghojdama, Fetwaka, Touggana, Glawa, Imeghran, Imegnoun, the Todgha, the Dadès, the Skourra, the Warzazat, the Mesgita, Aït Seddrat, the great confederation of the Waouzgit.

Thus loaded with goods, assured of peace by a harsh domination that keeps the tribes in fear and poverty, the chiefs of the Atlas can now leave their fortresses for their palaces in Marrakech. They learn the art of living there as great lords and welcome with ease illustrious guests from Europe who will extol their power afar. The cleverest among them discovers at the same time the precious value of the friendship of politicians from our country and cultivates it carefully in order to become untouchable.

175 VII. The internal organization of a large command. The
*631 casbahs. -- Such a rapid extension of the power of the great kaids burst the narrow territorial limits within which they had been enclosed as long as they had remained faithful to the tradition of the amghars, canton chiefs, or tribes. But if the newly established regime, which has sometimes been given the name of "Berbère /Berber/ feudality," brings to the conquered populations a complete upset of their institutions, by its internal organization it is nevertheless closely connected with that "despotic" power of the minor chiefs that de Foucauld observed so accurately.

The most important institutions of the new power are first of all those that contribute toward giving security and strength to the kaid.

175 The amghar who is still independent, or the sheik who has
*631 become kaid, has for a long time already been building a solid
712 casbah. The first fortress of the Gontafi, for example, is first of
all intended to permit him to withstand long sieges against the warriors of the cantons of the enemy leff, still capable, if a

*634 /345 cont./
*631 makhzen /makhzan/ leader only new burdens. In order to equip
652 his mokhaznis, supply them with arms, buy the complicity of
[648] the minor chiefs of the vicinity, and struggle at the court of the
[701] Makhzen against the dangerous influences of the nearby great
chiefs by distributing considerable sums to the great ones, new
resources are always needed. It is then necessary to impose on
[651] the tribes extraordinary contributions, "frida," to buy the lands
[728] from the ruined inhabitants or, better, to confiscate them, when
villages have been destroyed and the families exiled. Hundreds
[567] of slaves are bought to cultivate these abandoned fields. The
retinue of the house does not cease to grow. In proportion as the
importance of the domains and of the command increases, the
intermediaries also become more and more numerous, the harvests and the taxes melt away in their hands, and the chief receives no more than a small part of them.

• [619] With an ever-increasing ambition, the kaid then tries to get,
[661] by force or by intrigue, to establish himself in the richest tribes
in the vicinity, while the ruin of the ones that he already commands is consummated.

[466] Corvées, taxes, and fines are multiplied indeed, and, in
[651] order to find the money required by the mokhaznis, the peasants
[681] come to the casbah to sell their unripe harvests, their almonds in
bloom, and to pawn their fields. Against the urgent necessity of
[571] finding resources, no consideration can hold if it is not that of
keeping intact the very organization of the command by treating
[557] with respect the few families whose fate is bound up with that of
the kaid. So the great concern of the chief is to acquire goods by
every means. If this regime could continue /346/ to endure, the
kaid, with his brothers, would come to possess all the lands of
the country.

*634 Doubtless in the beginning preferential treatment is still re-
*631 served in the Asif Nefis for the "Aït Iraten," among whom the
616 Gontafi found so many allies; but later, when the memory of the
652 institution of the leffs is almost lost, after 40 years of internal
178 peace, the friendly cantons of the past will end up by being sub-
ject to the common regime of the "frida" and corvées. Only the
557

/348 cont./

*631 Soon a great chief comes to possess about a hundred wives, with-
*634 out counting the slaves, by whom he has numerous sons. In
595 imitation of the master, the most comfortable sheiks take several
[567] wives, and only the crowd of subjects remains attached to the
former familial regime.

*631 Thus, the material conditions of life are profoundly dis-
turbed in various ways, the distance between the ones governing
*634 and the governed increases more and more, and one would
178 imagine with difficulty, if the old men were not still there to
bring us their precise testimony on the recent origins of that power, about whose humble form of the first days people like so much at present to leave us ignorant, that the great chiefs of today came out of a Berbère /Berber/ mountain village 50 years ago.

*631 XI. The gread kaids' policy of conquest. -- This upsetting
*634 of the economic and social life, so striking in the tribes closest to
the casbahs of the great mountain kaids, is prepared by a clever
•619 job of political disorganization whose successive phases can still
178 be observed in the more distant territories that have been succes-
sively conquered by these Berbère /Berber/ chiefs.

Here again, the proceedings are the same in the various commands, because they are inspired by the same necessities and because this action is exercised upon a homogeneous social milieu in the various parts of the South of Morocco. The activity of the great chiefs in the distant tribes represents moreover what can be called their "external policy" up to the moment when they get entangled with the government of the Empire through their intrigues.

It will be enough for us, by reason of the similarity of the rules that guide the masters of the Atlas in their relations with the tribes, to fix our attention on a small number of examples.

In the short period during which the large commands were
[175] constituted, from 1897 to 1916, one could have noticed that the
efforts of the Berbère /Berber/ kaids were directed sometimes over the /349/ fertile regions of the plains, far from their casbahs, sometimes over the parts of the mountains near their original territory.

/349 cont./

*631 territory. The way they conceive taking possession of the country
*634 varies according to whether it is a matter of one or the other of
•619 the two zones. In the first case, the great chief tries above all to
178 exploit the conquered tribe in order to reap the largest profits
from it; his action is rapid and direct and is imposed with one
blow; in the second, his penetration is slow, is carried on through
the agency of the amghars, and bows patiently to all the subtleties
of the play of local politics. But whatever the means employed
may be, after a variable time, which depends on the resistance
met, the condition of servitude of the subdued populations is
identical.

*631 XII. The conquest of a tribe (the Aït Waouzgit). -- The re-
*634 gions on which the covetousness of the mountain lords is most
721 gladly directed, with the goal of seizing the resources that they
can offer, are those of the Dir of the north versant of the Atlas and
of the upper valley of the Sous. Hardly established in the command of their tribe of origin, utilizing the forces that the latter can give them, they rush by the most direct route, following the major lines of communication in the Atlas, toward these productive lands. They prefer the south, where one most easily escapes the control of the Makhzen /makhzan/. The rich tribe of the Ihouziyoun, the Aït Semmeg of the Atlas and of the Anti-Atlas, the Souktana have successively excited the conquering ambition of El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi and his successor and enemy, El Hajj ᶜOmar Mtouggi, then of the Gontafi and of the Glawi. In these territories that they regard as veritable colonies, they are exclusively interested in the profits that they can find.

Their first concern is to settle in the richest valleys, to construct command houses there, and to superimpose on the ancient organization an administration exclusively in charge of imposing heavy contributions on the defenseless Berbère /Berber/ tribes.
Moreover, driven from the country at each revolt, they come
[648] back in force on the first occasion and end up, thanks to the es-
tablishment of the Protectorate, by staying there.

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*631 *634 178 XIII. The progressive penetration (the Demsira). -- In the mountainous regions of the Atlas, the policy of the great chiefs is often different: they attain their ends without undertaking a true conquest, by means of the Berbère /Berber/ alliances and thanks to the ambition of the sheiks and amghars.

The patient subjugation of the Demsira by the kaids of Bouaboud perhaps offers us the most complete example that we might find of a formerly independent tribe that evolves little by little, thanks to clever political pressure, toward complete submission; the lower part of the territory, in the vicinity of the Mtougga, is already tending to become a colony of exploitation, while that of the high mountains has still kept its ancient institutions almost intact (1).

1. From the notes of F. de La Chapelle.

175 *634 •619 [616] /353/ The 13 cantons that form the tribe of the Demsira extend between the trail of the Tizi Maᶜcho and the mountains of the Seksawa and of the Ida Ou Mhamoud. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, as in all the western Atlas, each Berbère /Berber/ canton in this region still has its particular traditions, its democratic or oligarchic constitution; the two leffs of the "Indghertit" and "Imsifern" balance in their ensemble and contribute toward ensuring the autonomy of the small mountain states. One scarcely sees then between Imi n Tanout and the Bibaoun, on the "route of the Makhzen," marked out by large casbahs of the sultans in ruins today, minor sheiks without authority who divide the meager profits of power with the councils of notables, in the manner of the minor amghars of the Nefis and of the Glawa in the same period.

175 *631 *634 619 The progress of the domination of the Makhzen /makhzan/ brought the Demsira acquaintance with numerous kaids starting from 1850. Almost all were foreign masters preoccupied with rapidly amassing money in the most easily taxable cantons on the border of the great route of penetration of the Atlas and who neglect the countries of the high mountains. Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi,

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175 the powerful kaid of the Haha, exercises the first command at a
*631 great distance. He is replaced by the kaid Mohammed Mtouggi,
*634 whose exactions have remained so famous in the faithful memory
•619 of the tribes; attached then to the Nfifa and placed under the
authority of an autochthonous kaid, ᶜAli ben Boujja, the Demsira take a rest for a time in the reign of Sidi Mohammed and at the beginning of that of Moulay el Hasan; but el Hajj ᶜOmar Mtouggi and his brother Mesaᶜoud come back again, then a kaid from Marrakech, Hamido el Menebbhi, and in 1892 Saᶜid el Korimi, whose domination was detested, and who left memories of misery up to our day. After the death of Moulay Hasan, Si ᶜAbd el Malek Mtouggi again obtains from the Makhzen the mission of subjecting them to the tax and devotes himself resolutely to it.

175 At the time when the other Berbère /Berber/ kaids are dream-
*631 ing about conquering large territories in the Sous valley, the
*634 Mtouggi undertakes to organize the command of the Demsira. One
726 harka is enough to subdue the cantons located on the mountain
trail: Asserato, the Irohalen, Afella Issen, Taskemt, the Aït Mesaᶜoud and Assen accept the new domination, and the refractory ones see their villages destroyed and their trees cut down.

/354/ The penetration of the mountains is more difficult. ᶜAbd el Malek Mtouggi succeeded in making progress through the agency of the sheik Ahmed Agzal from the canton of the Aït Daoud, of "Indghertit" leff. In former times the Aït Daoud put up an energetic resistance to the kaid ᶜOmar Mtouggi with the aid of the Aït Lahsen /sic/ commanded by the amghar Si Mokhtar, son of Hammo ou Bella, as well as of the Seksawa of the high mountains. It was in their territory that the amghar Khorsa, a Mtouggi, personal enemy of the chiefs of Bouaboud, took refuge for a long time, attacking the kaid's mokhaznis, carrying off his sheiks' flocks. But by means of these struggles an amghar appeared, Ahmed Agzal, who constructed a casbah at Taourirt. The montagnards, however, did not accept his absolute authority without difficulty. One day, at the instigation of a neighboring amghar, ᶜOmar ben Bini Ou Hafid, of the Aït ᶜAbdallah, they made a press millstone roll from the top of a high hill in order to break

/361 cont./

*631 fixed by the nature of the republican institutions of the mountains.
*634 In these circumstances, one would hardly imagine that ties of
174 vassalage could appear among the chiefs, and much less that
171 feudal tribunals where the accused would be judged before his
peers would be constituted.

It is possible to point still further to the differences that
separate our Middle Ages from the regime of the great kaids by
referring, no longer to the negative characteristics of the barbarism
of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, but to the aspects that are
peculiar to it. One of them has already been indicated often in these
pages. The elevation of the amghars to the rank of great kaids
[571] marks successively, as we have seen, the domination of one soff
[616] over the others, that of one leff over the adverse leff, of one tribe
•[619] over the tribes and the confederations of the vicinity; in his
progressive accession to fortune the Berbère /Berber/ chief carries
along his companions from his village, leff, tribe, according to
one and another of the different situations depending on origin
and services rendered; doubtless that is the most original feature
of the organization of personal power in this country, the one
which would be sought in vain in Western feudality, born, on the
contrary, on a soil that had formerly known the domination of
Rome, where the tribes had disappeared to make way for the
cities.

It is no less important to call attention to another peculiarity
*631 of this domination of the amghars, which is related to the
*634 characteristic of violence of their power at its origins; none of them,
578 chief of canton, of tribe, or of region, succeeded in winning it
726 before having defeated, and often killed, a rival with a strength
almost equal to his and whose possessions he confiscated. Thus
175 the kaids of the Mtougga met as adversaries, about 1850, the
amghars of the Ida Ou Merzoug; the amghar Mohammed of
Tagontaft had as an enemy the amghar Achefar of Tagemout; the
family of the kaids of the Glawa at the height of their power had
to defeat the minor amghar of Taghennoust about 1860; later these
amghars, who had become tribal chiefs, met the amghar ᶜAli of
Tamedakht, who limited their expansion toward the south

/371 cont./

*631 648 co-operation of the Howara or of the Arab fractions integrated into the Berbère /Berber/ confederation of the Chtouka, and bring the intervention of the Arab tribes into the quarrels of the Berbère tribes of the mountains.

We have mentioned elsewhere the role played by the Arab kaids of the tribes settled to the east of Marrakech in governing the tribes of the South: Rehamna and Segharna were often, until the reign of Moulay el Hasan, in charge of ensuring, on behalf of the Makhzen /makhzan/, the collection of the taxes and carrying out the police circuits on the Saharan versant of the Atlas and in the Dadès and the Haut-Dra (2).

2. Cf. above, Book I, Ch. IV, and Book III, Ch. III.

648 •619 On the whole, the Berbère /Berber/ tribes proved to be more obstinate about entering the sultan's service in a body. True, we have seen them give all their support to the Saadian shorfa in the Sous at the beginning of the sixteenth century, but it was only in their capacity as "moujahidin," enemies of the Portuguese, that these shorfa could appeal to the independent tribes of the Anti-Atlas. As soon as their power had taken on the air of royalty and they began to follow the constant rules of the Makhzen in their government, the Berbère /Berber/ contingents of the Anti-Atlas scattered, and the Saadians, doubtless against their will, had to call on the turbulent Arab tribes of the plain of the Haouz. In the same way the Masmouda ranged themselves for a time at the beginning of the seventeenth century under the maraboutic domination of Abou Zakaria, grandson of Sidi Saīd Ou ʿAbd en Naīm, but also abandoned him when he tried to take supreme power in Marrakech.

Among the Berbère /Berber/ populations of the South only the Haha seem to have contributed, especially during the nineteenth century, toward extending and strengthening the sultan's

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648 domination in the Sous plain and over the Dir of the Anti-Atlas
619 (3).

> 3. It may be that the Skoura, the Mesgita, and the Aït Seddrat, totally or partially Arabized at present, however, formerly played in the Haut-Dra a role analogous to that of the Haha. These tribes are considered in the country as having had former relations with the Makhzen /makhzan/.

648 /372/ Finally, in most of its military expeditions the Makhzen used at all times, in addition to the "gich" and "ᶜabid," numerous contingents raised on the spot while passing through the subject tribes. This occasional military service, known in the country by the name of "naiba," was rendered especially by the Haha and the populations of the plains.

000 The organization of sherifian troops on the march has often been described; it is known that a representative of the sultan, generally chosen from among his relatives, is the supreme chief of the "mehalla" and is assisted by a kaid who holds all military authority.

When the sultan himself leads the column, he carries in his train, on the backs of mules, the gold ingots that constitute his treasury, as well as his archives and his most valuable possessions. He might indeed fear that a revolt would strip him of them if he left them behind in one of the towns of his Empire (1).

> 1. "Istiqsa," Archives Marocaines, Vol. IX, p. 274; Cour, Établissement des Chorfa /Establishment of the Shorfa/, pp. 5 and 92.

III. "The tax circuits." -- The principal use of the army of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is to permit proceeding at any time to collect the tax. It is certainly by that function that the central

648 *631 651 /377/ The role of the "oumana" chosen by the sultan from among the notables of the country is to see to the proper collection of the taxes and administer the possessions of the Makhzen /makhzan/, which come from all the lands confiscated from the former kaids. Among the Haha, upon the death of El Hajj ᶜAbdallah ou Bihi, all the fields that he had had cleared in the whole country, his horses, mules, and flocks were taken on account by "oumana" settled permanently on all the territory of the confederation. These functionaries who collected the "mouna" in the "storehouses of the ᶜAchour" in Mogador, where the products of the taxes in kind were gathered together, received, moreover, from the tribes all their equipment. They did not have the right to claim for their personal account the benefit of the "touiza," reserved for the kaids. Moreover, their duty was to point out to the sultan all the exactions and all the abuses that they could discern. In reality, an agreement was quickly established between them and the chiefs whom they had to watch, and the fate of the tribes subject to the Makhzen was not at all ameliorated by them.

648 •619 177 *634 *631 V. The new fractioning of the subjugated tribes. -- What characterizes the new organization of the tribes definitively reduced to servitude is not only their submission to a kaid placed in close dependence in relation to the sultan, it is above all the existence of a new mode of fractioning conceived in a manner different from the former natural division of the Berbère /Berber/ groups. In former times the unit was a canton, independent former "taqbilt" made up of a certain number of "moudaᶜ" or of "jemaᶜa," with nearly constant dimensions. At present the tribes are arbitrarily divided into thirds, quarters, fifths, or still smaller units that no longer have any function other than to facilitate the dividing up of the taxes and whose limits arbitrarily overlap the frontiers of the cantons of old (1).

1. One can give as an example the Ouzgita of the Jebel Kik cut into three fractions: the Aït Wasif, including the villages of the banks

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/footnote 1 continued/ of the Nefis wadi, the Immighern, settled at Agergour and on the mountain of Kik, Dou Ighris with the valleys of the Imarighen and Wirgan. Each of these units is divided into six "quarters." The Mzouda are made up of ten units having the name of "mia," "hundreds." The Nfiffa, formerly constituted by six cantons, have seen their divisions entirely remodeled and are made up of five fifths: Imi n Tanout includes two of them, Asif el Bour has two others, Amesnez forms the last; in this tribe, the new fractioning by the Makhzen /makhzan/ has even caused the idea of leff, formerly very much alive, to disappear.

Sometimes, too, the ancient cantons exist, but, according to /378/ need, they are united with other entirely different groups located a day away, in order to complete the number of taxable households so as to form a new artificial unit, the "makhzen tribe," whose utility is purely fiscal (1).

1. The valley of the Asif el Mal thus formerly formed a tribe divided into four parts: the Ind Maghous formed the first quarter, Tigider the second, Taskourt, the Aït Tabgao, and Iberdaten the third, Anedbour, Zilaout, Imi Wasif the fourth. Since this command appeared too small to furnish the taxes of a "makhzen tribe," the little group of the Dnassa situated in the Dir to the east of Amismiz, about 40 kilometers away, was later added to it so as to form a "makhzen tribe." Likewise, among the Mtougga, we also see Tednest situated in the plain attached artificially to the khoms of

/378 cont./

648 /footnote 1 continued/ the Ida Ou Nifi a
•619 day's march away in the mountains.
177 Compare Trenga, "Les Branès," Archives
*[634] berbères, Vol. I, Part 4, p. 318.

*[631] Another manner of dividing the tribes, still more artificial,
[113] consists of grouping the different hearths by groups of ten in order
[651] to constitute what was called a "makhzen kanoun," a tax unit
that was to furnish contributions in kind upon the passage of the
harkas (2).

[171] [113] 2. At the Touat, among the Chauwya of Morocco, the unit is the "diffa," so named because it designates a group of inhabitants charged with furnishing a "diffa" to the army of the Makhzen /makhzan/ when it passes through the country (A. C. P. Martin, Quatre siècles d'histoire marocaine /Four Centuries of Moroccan History/, pp. 32, 60, 115, 437). We have found in the high valleys of the Nefis the "aserdoun" -- mule -- because the annual contribution of this unit was a mule offered to the sultan or to the kaid.

While in the poorly subjugated regions the new divisions established by the Makhzen /makhzan/ are still confounded with the social units of former times and consequently have been capable of reconstituting their council of Aït Arba^{c}in in times of "siba," the parts most directly affected by the political transformation no longer have anything but "khoms" without an assembly,
[623] "mia" or "toulout" without political personality. We have told
how under these conditions the only natural unit that still existed
[632] was the simple "jema^{c}a" of a village or of a group of hamlets
grouped around its mosque and continuing to apply obstinately
the customary petty rules of agricultural life, sanctioned by

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648 modest fines, the "azzainnigran" (3).

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> 3. One can thus compare the south of the Haha, little affected by the Makhzen penetration, whose tribes are divided into "khoms," veritable political units, and the north of the same country, whose khoms are no more than divisions established in view of the tax (cf. above, Book II, Ch. II, p. 199) and Doutté, "Organisation sociale et domestique des Haha /Social and Domestic Organization of the Haha/," Bulletin de l'Afrique française, 1905, rens. coloniaux /colonial information/, p. 11.

648 In the whole of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ it is thus possible
*631 to follow the progressive decline of the ancient social units, all
619 the more apparent in proportion as the operation of the Makhzen
177 /makhzan/ is intensified. The establishment of the new frac-
[616] tioning contributes toward effacing the division into leffs, diminishes the authority of most of the sheiks, who have become mere agents for the transmission of orders in /379/ the hands of the kaid; finally, the councils of notables and the "jema^{c}a" play a role incessantly more effaced in the administration of the country and give way to the kaid.

648 VI. A great kaid in the service of the Makhzen.-- Such are the principal aspects of the policy and organization of the Makhzen /makhzan/ in its relations with the Berbère /Berber/ tribes of the South of Morocco. A heavy machine that crushes the country and gets rid of the last traditions that the autochthonous chiefs had respected, erases the boundaries of the cantons, the memory of ancient alliances, and soon leaves no more confronting the sultan than an anonymous crowd of subjects whose sole role is to pay the tax.

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648 Nevertheless, it sometimes happens under the sultan's domination
*631 that one sees personal power reconstituted, that a clever
177 and enterprising kaid, putting his ambitions at the service of the
Makhzen, succeeds in obtaining a large command in Berbère
178 /Berber/ country, so that he appears to us, at a distance, with the same features as the semi-independent chiefs of the mountains. But if one wishes to examine carefully the conditions under which his power was developed and exercised, one perceives how much the forces on which he depends have changed; less solidly built on the base of a canton or tribe, less well supported by leff alliances, without a durable foundation in the country, his power remains precarious and rests above all on the confidence and support of the sovereign. If the latter withdraws his favor, the great makhzen kaid disappears into the void.

175 The example of the career of El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, a
159 great chief who in the middle of the last century, in the country
of the Haha, had a prestige comparable to the lords of the Glawa,
*631 will suffice to make us understand how much the power of such a
648 kaid is contrary, by numerous traits, to that of the masters of the
[554] mountain tribes.

ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi appears about 1844. His family has been in the service of the Makhzen for 60 years; already settled at Mogador, it commands from afar the country of the Haha under the supervision of the governor of the town. Abdallah himself is the son of a black slave, and tradition relates the strange fact that his mother was given pregnant to the kaid of the Haha by Sultan Moulay Sliman, which leaves hovering over his true origins a complete mystery, which legend has seized.

175 /380/ After difficult beginnings and discords with the minor
159 kaid of the Mtougga, whom the sultan has thrown into prison,
*631 ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi undertakes to subjugate the tribes of his command
648 in revolt since the bombardment of Mogador by the French
•619 fleet and cursed by Moulay ᶜAbd er Rahman. At this period in the
[669] country of the Haha one no longer finds stable leffs constituted by
[178] traditional alliances, in the manner of those of the Nefis or of the
[616] country of the Glawa, but only fragile associations of "khoms" or

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159 tribes, established according to the necessities of the moment.
*63 Moreover they are especially alliances of notables. It is thus that
648 the kaid of the Mtougga maintains with the Ida Ou Bouzia and the
•619 Ida Ou Gelloul relations that serve him in checking ᶜAbdallah Ou
[178] Bihi.

[616] The territory of the confederation is then divided into two parts, which the course of the Asif of the Igezzoulen separates. To the north of this boundary are found the tribes most used to the domination of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and subject to sheiks; to the south, more independent units, still sometimes guided by councils of notables and always ready to unite in revolt with their mountain neighbors remaining free, the Ida Ou Tanan.

In ten years ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi wins his territory. He establishes
[712] himself first of all at the Azaghar of the Aït Zelten, old center of the Makhzen /makhzan/, where the lands have belonged to the sultan since that time, and builds a casbah there. It does not have the warlike air of the "agadirs" of the chiefs of Tagontaft or of Telwet. It is a large square enclosure with walls of stones and pisé, defended by borjs /towers/, like all the casbahs of the
[342] Makhzen built in the plains. Inside, he first of all builds his house, rather modest, formed by a square enclosure, adorned by
[343] two corner towers; next, some stables intended for the numerous horses of the horsemen whom he keeps in his service, finally some storehouses where the tribes will come to pay the tithe.

Little by little he succeeds in crossing the boundary of the Asif of the Igezzoulen, defeats, imprisons the rebels, and reaches the frontier of the Ida Ou Tanan. Thus master of the whole confederation, he assembles its forces to conquer the plains of the South, to station a garrison on the Dir of the Anti-Atlas, and to collect the taxes in the name of the sultan. All the Haha thus profit, as they did recently in the time of Aghennaj (1),

1. Cf. above, Book I, Ch. IV, pp. 139-140.

by this domination. Spread in the /381/ interior plain of the Sous,

/381 cont./

175 where they scatter "like boats on the sea," they get rich and forget
159 their internal dissensions.

*631 Having become powerful, ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi feels cramped
648 in his casbah of the Azaghar. He has another one constructed,
•619 larger than the first one, a few kilometers away on the brow of
[712] the mountain of Amhach. This fortress, in ruins today, contained
a large house defended by borjs; cisterns and vaulted storehouses
built with care, to which the marabouts themselves came
to pay the tithe, which indicates to us quite well their state of
[466] abasement. Between the two casbahs stretched a large space
planted with olive trees, and all the tribes participated by corvées
in the construction of an immense enceinte wall of dry stones, intended
to shelter the kaid's crops. Then around the house of the
Azaghar grow the dwellings of the relatives of ᶜAbadallah Ou Bihi.
Finally, hundreds of black slaves cultivate the fields. By the material
aspects of his establishment, the Makhzen leader seems to
live and act like a mountain kaid.

But if one examines carefully the organization of the great
chief's power, one sees how much it differs from that of the other
Berbère /Berber/ chiefs whose appearance and development we
have studied. ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi is not established on the lands
of his enemies, but on those of the Makhzen. His only rival is
the kaid of the Mtougga, but, in order to fight him and put him
to flight, he must wait patiently for the "siba" that follows the
Sultan's death. He does not confiscate the possessions of the defeated,
but in each tribe he has the dead fields, taken over by
[651] forest, cleared by fire. Everyone owes him two days of tillage
[466] and three days of harvesting, which are enough for him to have
his silos filled, set up under the guard of an "amin."

175 The great kaid, ceaselessly at the head of his horsemen,
159 travels through the tribes. This group that he calls his "makhzen,"
*631 however, is not made up of the warriors of a privileged canton, it
619 is formed of Haha of various origins. The ones that he prizes
701 most are those of the Ida Ou Gourd, for the most part of Arab
origin, because they are hard in combat; he can, in any circumstance,
use 100 horsemen and 300 foot soldiers, who are all

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175 volunteers and whom he has sometimes chosen from among the
159 sons of his harshest enemies. The Aït Zelten, of the kaid's tribe
*631 of origin, are the least numerous; living in a country that is not
•619 as poor, they are mostly /382/ unsuited for war and have a reputation
701 only for living well and eating well.

Finally, the functionaries of the casbah, who in the case of
175 the Berbère /Berber/ amghar are taken from the village of origin,
159 here originate indiscriminately from the various tribes of the command;
the chiefs of harkas and the caliphates come especially
*631 from the warlike tribe of the Ida Ou Gourd. No caliphates in the
619 territory of the confederation, nor houses of mokhaznis in charge
712 of collecting the "frida." On the contrary, one finds in each khoms proven sheiks, coming from old families, who will keep power for more than 20 years, and it is they who, after the death of the great chief, will receive the succession and give the country numerous minor kaids.

175 The domination of El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi in his own
159 country thus appears to us less violent than that of the chiefs of
*631 the Atlas over the tribes that they conquered. The union of the
648 Haha is realized by the authority of a chief whom the Makhzen
619 /makhzan/ supports with its distant, but nevertheless feared power; besides, the harmony of the tribes is cemented above all by the attraction exerted on the warriors of the country by the lucrative missions carried out in the Sous plain in order to collect the sultan's tax. As soon as that source of profit has dried up and El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi has been killed by the sultan's poison, the whole country will go back to anarchy, to internal struggles, to the extravagant ambitions of the minor chiefs, and the work of 20 years of efforts will disappear without leaving a trace.

The tragic end of the great chief of the Haha suffices to show us how much his effort was strictly limited and watched over by the Makhzen. Having grown important more easily thanks to sherifian prestige, he is at the same time destined to know immediate ruin if disgrace strikes him.

El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi had not continued, with respect to the Tazerwalt, the policy of furious war waged in former times by Aghennaj.

/383 cont./

*631 expense of the nearby regions, still half-rebellious toward domination
648 by the Makhzen /makhzan/, the new political state brings
only an accumulation of misery and the development of intolerable
abuses for the country.

In the eyes of the subject Berbère /Berber/ it is the kaid himself
*631 who appears as the principal agent of his misfortune. People
648 in the country try in vain at the beginning to limit the injustices
829 that he can commit. When a tribe, after having succeeded in
*619 living in anarchy for several years, finds itself weary of the confusion
661 and yields to the clever pressure exerted by the Makhzen on
the notables and sheiks, it most often designates as spokesman,
and as eventual kaid, a man chosen because he is modest and believed
to be without ambition. Thus they hope to be able to oppose
more /384/ easily the activity of a chief who can henceforth
become, if he likes, an absolute master. But the new kaid, his
brothers, or his sons very quickly break away from every rule; it is
the same for the sheiks who in the beginning do not dare decide
anything without consulting the notables and soon stop assembling
them; they obey in all circumstances, they say to excuse themselves,
*631 the kaid's formal orders. The more advanced the transformation
648 of the country is, prepared by the action of the amghars
661 for centuries, the more the authority of the makhzen chiefs is
made absolute and is easily freed from all control.

*631 The only ones who to a certain degree escape the exactions
*634 of the kaids and amghars are those who are attached to them by
602 ties of kinship or the recollection of former alliances. So in the
tribes one often sees rich and powerful villages whose prosperity
661 contrasts with the ruin of other hamlets almost deserted. The
former are those of the chief's "brothers," the latter are those of
enemy or rival families.

*631 The misfortune is still greater when the kaid is an outsider to
661 the tribe; all are then "eaten" without distinction as to origin,
while around the casbah prosper the relatives and servants of the
602 master, who sometimes even have their riches taken out of the
territory in order to send them to their own tribe.

/385 cont./

648 619 669 VIII. The siba. -- The "siba," the revolt, can be regarded as a veritable institution in subjugated country. It enables the tribes to deliver themselves from their servitude for a time, to take back their goods that have fallen into the possession of the Makhzen /makhzan/, to taste the joys of anarchy for a few years, the better later to take their place again in the Empire to which they are henceforth bound forever.

The "siba" occurs each time that the authority of the Makhzen suffers a serious defeat or weakens and shows its powerlessness. The best signal for the revolt is given by the death of the Sultan, since everyone expects -- thanks to a millenary experience -- that several pretenders will dispute his succession, arms in hand, will enlist the tribes as followers, and that disorder will reign until the strongest or cleverest has won. [175] The longest crises of anarchy that the South of Morocco has known for a century and a half are the great siba of seven years, after the death of Sidi Mohammed Ben ᶜAbdallah (1790-1797), that of the death of Moulay ᶜAbd er Rahman (1859-1864), that of the death of Moulay el Hasan (1894-1897). Moreover, the tribes have /386/ manifested by innumerable local revolts their impatience with tolerating the yoke of the Makhzen.

The news of the defeat of the Sultan's armies or that of his death is hardly known in the towns before it is propagated with an inconceivable rapidity to the most distant Berbère /Berber/ tribes.

175 648 669 When the sultan Sidi Mohammed drowned in the basin of the Aguedal in Marrakech in 1875, his son Sidi El Hasan was vigorously occupied in restoring order in the land of the Haha, troubled for the last eight years after the death of El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi. The black slaves, his horsemen, his mokhaznis, scattered throughout the confederation, were trying to enumerate the possessions of the Makhzen and were living grandly on the heavy fines imposed on the Berbères /Berbers/. Suddenly the inhabitants learned of the event, before it had come to the knowledge of the Sultan's son. In a second, the state of the country was changed: the wolves became lambs, and it was with great difficulty that the servants of the Makhzen regained the casbah of Bou Riqi under the

/390 cont./
*631 Just as the sultan is in the hands of Allah, the kaids are the slaves
648 of the sovereign, and the subjects the humble servants of the kaids.
177 Moreover, there can exist in the Empire only one single State,
only a single Islamic community, of which the sherif is the
178 leader. The independent mountain republics are for the Makhzen
*634 only errors of corrupt men, creations that by strict right cannot
claim any law: nothingness engendered by ignorance.

Equally bent on destroying Berbérie /Barbary/, the temporal
power of the chiefs and the divine right of the sultans are able to
join and unite. Often, as we have said, it is the amghar, master
[616] of a leff established at the foot of the Dir, who enters the service
•[619] of the Makhzen /makhzan/ of the plain; /391/ at other times it
is a tribal chief in the mountains who receives the title of kaid;
the lords of the Atlas themselves, whose conquests are made in
the name of the sultan, govern according to the traditional principles of the sherifian State to the point where in our day it is into
the parts of their territories remaining free of our control that one
must go to observe the anachronism of the last tribes living under
the regime of the Makhzen of former times.

Sometimes, it is true, these two powers of domination come
to fight each other for a time, as we have seen in the country of
the amghar of Tagontaft in the valley of the Nefis, but it is in
order to unite better afterwards their wishes for exploitation and
their desires for conquest. The goal, often unconscious, of the
[642] efforts of the chiefs and of the sultan is to achieve on the ruins of
[185] the Berbère /Berber/ cantons the founding of an absolute Empire,
without internal frontiers, subject to a single law and one that
condemns the subjects to submit to a ruinous and pitiless tyranny.

It is difficult, when one measures the futility of the results obtained by the Makhzen and the amghars during ten centuries of fighting, to escape from a feeling of pity with regard to these people reduced to a servitude without ideals, in misery without hope, and who no longer look for any remedy for their ills other than an impotent and fleeting return to the anarchy of old. /Page 392 is blank./

/394 cont./
121 mountain states to aid one another in war and peace. Sometimes
171 these associations, to which the name of leffs is often given, are
*634 linked with the memory of the great struggles of the upper Middle
571 Ages between the autochthons and the invaders; sometimes they
appear to us as venerable institutions whose origin is no longer
known and which are closely bound up with the conditions of material existence and local traditions.

121 The political regime to which the Berbères /Berbers/ remain
attached with the most firmness, when they are living in inde-
171 pendence, is thus a kind of organized anarchy; all the large
*634 families apply themselves then to maintaining, within the bound-
642 aries of a canton, a rigorous equality among them; it is under
these circumstances that constitutions originate, democratic in
appearance, oligarchic in fact, which have the purpose of regulating among all the notables the equitable sharing of the profits
of power and of distributing among all the inhabitants the burdens
of the common life. The Anti-Atlas, the Rif, the western Jbel,
Kabylie /Kabylia/ before the conquest hardly knew, it seems,
any other institutions in the course of history; the Haut-Atlas /High
Atlas/ itself, which has seen such surprising political transformations for two generations, was still found in the middle of the past
century divided into small republics similar to those of the
Djurjura at the time of its independence.

121 When the tribes preserve their traditional political organiza-
tion, one barely sees arise, under identical aspects in these di-
171 verse regions of sedentary Berbérie /Barbary/, a precarious per-
•619 sonal power limited to the narrow frontiers of one tribal fraction
*634 in the cadre of one valley. The petty tyrannies that then form
578 are so fragile that the chiefs, emerging from the struggle of the
soffs within villages, barely masters of a minuscule territory, are
most often carried off without return by a change in the equilibrium of the parties in the interval of one or two generations.

121 One region alone forms an exception to this extreme in-
stability of the power of the amghars, who are usually only the
171 ephemeral masters of the little mountain cantons. The Sous at
*631 the end of the nineteenth century, and more particularly the part
*634

/395 cont./

105 II. The large commands of the Atlas. -- The conditions
*631 under which the power of the chiefs of the Atlas is formed in our
time is explained, as we have said, by simple laws; it will suffice
for us, /396/ in order to bring them to light, to recall briefly the
various stages of their conquest of the tribes.

105 At the beginning of the last century, several hundred little
*631 republics, united among themselves by two chains of alliances,
*634 make up an immense chessboard that covers the greater part of
the mountains and thus delimits the region in which the long
616 game, whose stake is the liberty of the Berbères /Berbers/, is
going to begin between the assemblies, the amghars, and the
Makhzen /makhzan/.

105 At the outset, in the small canton where equilibrium is
*634 realized among the heads of all the large families, of all the
"ikhs" that share the benefits of the local government, several
578 ambitious ones appear, who think that their greater strength
613 merits them a larger part of the profits; soon two parties form and
confront each other; the winner takes the title of "amghar" and
replaces the oligarchy of family heads by the tyranny of a single
one.

105 In this minuscule territory of a small tribal fraction, in this
*634 "taqbilt" where the domination of one "ikhs" over the others is
thus established, the new chief feels the urgent necessity of main-
182 taining the union that he has realized for a moment by internal
•619 force by reviving external wars. Thanks to the ancient alliances
726 concluded between the small republics of the country, he easily
manages to extend his influence afar, and soon he undertakes to
subject a veritable tribe to his will. If he succeeds in defeating
[616] the chief of the opposite alliance, he places the enemy "taqbilt"
under the yoke of his leff, and with the support of his canton of
origin he organizes, in various forms, the exploitation of a tribe
by a canton.

105 If fortune continues to favor the victorious amghar, one then
*634 sees him try to subjugate, with the help of contingents that he has
619 raised in the tribe of which he has become the uncontested master,
*631 extensive territories in the plains; entire confederations pay tax to
726

105 /396 cont./
*634 him; he establishes himself on the mountain routes of passage,
•619 builds fortresses there of which his ikhs or village "brothers" are
*631 the guardians; his canton "brothers" stay around him permanently
726 in order to constitute his escort; the warriors that he sends afar to
subdue rebels are his tribal "brothers."

105 It is when he has reached this degree of power that the
*631 amghar effortlessly takes a place with the Sultan's kaids. Doubt-
*634 less, he /397/ is not yet confused in the ranks of the servile chiefs
648 of tribes of the plains; he preserves the pride of his power, the ar-
rogance of having been able to constitute with his own forces the
182 vast command that he exercises. Let even a period of anarchy come, he will free himself as much as possible from the orders of the pashas of the neighboring capital; by his inclinations and his ambitions, the mountain lord finds himself henceforth carried along in the current of the politics of the Makhzen /makhzan/; his attention more and more turns away from the obscure mountain traditions; his eyes are more often cast toward the court of the Sultan or of the pretenders; he burns with the desire to play, close to them, by means of disturbances, the more brilliant and still more profitable role of vizier or governor of towns.

In truth, it is not only at the end of this evolution that the role of the Makhzen appears in the tribes. Indeed, the Sultan, from the depths of his palaces in towns far from the mountains, promotes and encourages at all times, to the border of the regions where his authority is directly exercised, the appearance and the growth of amghars. Under the influence of skillful politics, a tendency hostile to the anarchic government of the assemblies forces its way through in the still-independent communities. The great kaids themselves imitate the ruler, and little by little, in proportion as the pressure of the Makhzen is accentuated or as the powerful chiefs of the Atlas become more enterprising, revolutions become more numerous within the republics of the high valleys, to the profit of the ambitious; on the contrary, however, if anarchy breaks out in the Empire, the casbahs are thrown to the ground and their masters put to flight; the strongest chiefs shut themselves up with all haste in their impregnable agadirs, the "Aït Arba^{c}in" resume their meetings; liberty and discord succeed servitude.

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• 619 In the same manner, temporary emigration has for 20 years
167 taken a new spurt; but each Sous tribe sends its sons into a few villages of its choice in the north of Morocco, so that one sees them group themselves by corporate bodies and by quarters; in the midst of foreigners they live by themselves, speak their dialect, receive ceaselessly from travelers the most detailed news of the events in their tribe, and continue to be connected by invisible bonds to their small fatherland.

167 Finally, the distribution of the very colonies of Chleuhs /Shluh/ of the Parisian suburbs or of the industrial cities of the north and center of France appears to us like a distorted map of the various social groups of the Sous; the tribes of Massat, of the Ida Ou Baqil, of the Ammeln, of the Ida Ou Gnidif are thus formed again in the garrets of Argenteuil, Puteaux, and Saint-Étienne, where life is organized by cantons and by villages (1).

1. Justinard, Revue des Études islamiques, 1928, pp. 477-480.

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178 Without doubt, this is the place to recall that in other regions of Berbérie /Barbary/ surprising survivals attest with striking clearness to the vitality of the customary law of the tribes. It is known how the Kabyle "Kanoun," written down in French without the knowledge of our administrators, still at present bring traditional sanctions to bear on offenses repressed by French laws; these clandestine regulations continue to regulate the existence of villages of the Djurjura by adapting, not without some merit, to the political, economic, and moral transformations of our time (2).

2. Milliot, "Les nouveaux qanoun kabyles /The New Kabyle Qanoun/," Hespéris, 1926, 4th quarter.

> essentielle d'être en quelque sorte les champions permanents. Ce sont eux qui marchent au combat en tête de tous les autres et s'efforcent d'y entraîner leurs frères par l'exemple de leur propre intrépidité. Une observation curieuse permet au reste de mettre en lumière le rôle si particulier qui leur est dévolu: toutes les luttes privées qui se sont déroulées chez les Ait Jellidasen depuis une soixantaine d'années – elles sont au nombre d'une douzaine environ –, n'ont opposé successivement les uns aux autres que les "ighousâs" d'"Ait A'ouwâm", portant chacun la bannière de sa fraction respective... (Marcy, 1929, pp. 138-139).

Similar communal paragons are known from the Haha of the western High Atlas, and may be more widespread than reported (Doutté, 1905).

e. *District*

Beyond the commune one finds a still larger division, the district, 634 customarily termed a "fourth" or a "fifth" in the Berber languages [619] because, in theory at least, four or five of these units consitute a larger unit, usually the tribe. Thus we have the term *khums* ("fifth") [192] used among the Shluh and Beraber (Doutté, 1905; Montagne, 1930, pp. 152-155); *rebaa* ("fourth"), *khums* and *thakhammasth* ("fifth") among the Riffians (Coon, 1931, p. 92; Hart, 1954, p. 67; Paniagua y Santos, 1948, p. 15); and *rebaa* among the Zenata (Marcy, 1929, p. 139). One exception to this, however, is the word *taqbilt* (pl. *tiqīlin*), used by the Shluh to refer to both a district and a tribe (Adam, 1941, p. 76; Montagne, 1930, p. 152). In the French and [114] Spanish literature this division is customarily designated as a "fraction" or "canton", and must not be confused with Coon's and Hart's "canton", which is the major lineage or commune (Berque, 1955; Coon, 1931; Deverdun, 1942; Hart, 1954; Marcy, 1929; Montagne, 1930; Paniagua y Santos, 1948; Querleux, 1915; Spillman, 1936).

The district is defined more by geographical proximity than by blood, although there may be many lineages in the same district, even in different communes, which are related by blood and marriage. In some special cases, the district as a whole may claim descent from some common ancestor. The Berber district is in essence a political federation of "villages" or hamlets. Usually it has boundaries no more than 9 or 10 miles across, and is inhabited by a few or of the Oued Noun, are scattered pell-mell throughout the territory. In almost all cases this population turnover is accomplished on an individual basis, individuals or families simply attaching themselves to a community in new territory. In the midst of all this constant renewal of individual elements of the society, the Berber district remains unchanged in outward form or internal structure (Montagne, 1930, pp. 153-154). 634 613 166

f. *Tribe*

Districts are customarily grouped to form a tribe, known as a *taqbilt* or *qabila* among the Shluh, Beraber, and Zenata (Abes, 1917, p. 189; Adam, 1951, p. 76; Doutté, 1905; Marcy, 1929, p. 139), and as a *qabila*, *zakoir*, or *thakabitch* among the Riffians (Coon, 1931, p. 92; Paniagua y Santos, 1948, p. 16). 619 [634] [192]

In contrast to the commune and district, the tribe is a creature of sentiment and attitude, lacking any concrete character or any overt political institutions. It is a territorial unit, the criteria of affiliation being residence within a definite area (though in some cases the boundaries of this area may not be strictly defined). It has a name implying group descent from a common legendary ancestor – an implication usually denied by the tribespeople themselves. Its members recognize a tribal patron saint, common traditions, and sometimes a tribal flag. However, its members do not customarily function as a unit except under circumstances of common danger.

g. *Confederation*

A number of neighboring tribes may feel an affinity through reasons of common interest, history, or residence, and may constitute a vague unit known as a sub-confederation, confederation, or super-confederation, depending upon the exact shade of relationship (see Table III, for examples of structuring). Such confederation units are of little political significance except in case of attack by an outside group. They are largely lacking among the tribes of the Jebala, northeastern Morocco, the central High Atlas, and the Anti-Atlas, but are well developed among the coastal tribes near Rabat (Deverdun, 1942, p. 306; Montagne, 1930, pp. 164-169).

[pp. 62-84 not processed]

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11
(ca. 1900)

2. *Alliances and Agencies for Negotiation and Arbitration*

The traditional social units of Moroccan rural society, involving 619 increasing segmentation as one moves from the confederation or 578 the tribe to the extended family, do not easily lend themselves to 627 the maintenance of peace and harmony. In the pre-Protectorate 628 period rivalries between different blood groups, strong regionalism, 171 and the attitude that insults to "honor" were best avenged by the vendetta, all tended to override the sense of unity derived from geographical proximity, the use of common markets, and brotherhood in Islam. This tendency was rendered all the more critical in the Berber areas by this ethnic group's traditional antipathy towards any form of centralized political authority.

In the Berber areas these centrifugal forces were traditionally countered and controlled by an elaborate system of religiously inviolable alliances combined with an equally elaborate system of "checks and balances" and agencies for the negotiation, mediation, and arbitration of disputes. These compensating factors, although somewhat slow in operation and therefore often ineffective in preventing local social disturbance, did generally contain the dispute within a small area and thus limit its consequences. Similar institutions were also present in the Arabic-speaking areas of the *Bled el Makhzen*, although some suffered suppression at the hands of the central authority.

a. *Shame Compulsions and Covenants*

In the absence of a central authority with strong police powers, 626 interpersonal and intergroup relationships and alliances in both 754 pre-Protectorate Berber and Arabic-speaking society were rendered 171 binding and inviolable through the use of religious shame compulsion (*'ar*) and covenant (*'ahd*). In Morocco the word *'ar* implies the transference of a conditional curse for the purpose of compelling somebody to grant a request, the power of the conditional curse deriving from the mysterious power inherent in the curse (which may sometimes be reinforced by the invocation of another supernatural power or object). Thus, if a person says to another, *Ha l-'ar alik*, "Here is *'ar* upon you", it implies that if